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THE
DIVINE LEGATION
OF
MOSES
DEMONSTRATED,
ON THE
Principles of a *Religious Deist*,
From the Omission of the Doctrine of a
FUTURE STATE
OF
REWARD and PUNISHMENT
IN THE
JEWISH DISPENSATION.

IN NINE BOOKS.

THE FIRST VOLUME.

THE THIRD EDITION, Corrected and Enlarged.

BY

WILLIAM WARBURTON, A. M.

Chaplain to his Royal Highness the Prince of *Wales*.

ΑΠΟΚΑΛΥΨΟΝ ΤΟΥΣ ΟΦΘΑΛΜΟΥΣ ΜΟΥ
ΚΑΙ
ΚΑΤΑΝΟΗΣΩ ΤΑ ΘΑΥΜΑΣΙΑ ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΝΟΜΟΥ ΣΟΥ. *Psal.*

LONDON,

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TO THE
FREE-THINKERS.

GENTLEMEN,

AS the following Treatise was written for your Use, you have the best Right to this Address. I could never approve the Custom of dedicating Books to Men, whose Professions made them Strangers to the Subject. A Discourse on the Ten Predicaments to a Leader of Armies, or a System of Casuistry to a Minister of State, always appeared to me a high Absurdity.

Another Advantage I have in this Address is, that I shall not lie under any Temptations of Flattery, which, at this time of day, when every Topic of Adulation has been exhausted, will be of equal Relief to us both.

Not but I must own you have been managed, even by some of our Order, with very singular Complaisance. Whether it was, that they affected the Fame of Moderation, or the higher Ambition of your good Word, I know not; but I, who neither love your Cause, nor fear the Abilities that support it, while I preserve for you that Justice and Charity which my Profes-

sion teaches to be due to all, can never be brought to think otherwise of you, than as the Despisers^a of the Master whom I serve, and as the implacable Enemies of that Order, to which I have the Honour to belong. And as such, I could glory in your Censures; but would certainly refuse your Commendations.

Indeed was it my Design, in the manner of modern Dedicators, to look out for powerful Protectors, I do not know where I could sooner find them, than amongst the Gentlemen of your Denomination: For nothing, I believe, strikes the serious Observer with more Surprize, in this Age of Novelties, than that strange Propensity to Infidelity, so visible in Men of almost every Condition; amongst whom the Advocates of Deism are received with all the Applauses due to the Inventors of the Arts of Life, or the Deliverers of oppressed and injured Nations. The glorious Liberty of the Gospel is forgot amidst our Clamours against a pretended Ecclesiastic Tyranny; and we slight the Fruits of the restored Tree of Knowledge, for the sake of gathering the barren Leaves of a misgrafted Free-thinking.

But mistake me not, here are no Insinuations intended against Liberty: For surely, whatever be the Cause of this Folly, it would be unjust to ascribe it to the Freedom of the Press, which wise Men will ever hold one of the most pre-

^a "Behold, ye Despisers, and wonder and perish: For I work
^a a Work in your Days, a Work which you shall in no wise
^a believe, tho' a Man declare it unto you." ACTS xiii. 41.

cious Branches of Civil Liberty. What though it midwives, as it were, these Brain-sick Births, yet, at the same Time that it facilitates the Delivery, it lends a *forming* Hand to the mis-shapen Issue: For, as in natural Bodies, become distorted by suffering Violence in the Conception, or by too long Imprisonment in the Womb, a free unrestrained Exposition of the Parts may, in time, restore them to their natural Rectitude; so crude and rickety Notions, cramped by Restraint, when permitted to be drawn out and examined, may, by the Reduction of their Obliquities, and the Correction of their Virulency, at length acquire Strength and Proportion.

Nor less friendly is this Liberty to the generous Advocate of Religion: For how could such a one, when in earnest convinced of the Strength of Evidence in his Cause, desire an Adversary whom the Laws had before disarmed; or value a Victory, where the Magistrate must triumph with him? Even I, the meanest in this Controversy, should have been ashamed of projecting the Defense of *the great Jewish Legislator*, did not I know, that his Assailants and Defenders skirmished all under one equal Law of Liberty. And if my dissenting in the Course of this Defence, from some common Opinions need an Apology, I desire it may be thought, that I ventured into this Train with greater Confidence; to shew, by not intrenching myself in authorized Speculations, that I put myself upon the same footing with you, and would claim

no Privilege that was not equally enjoyed.

This Liberty then may you long possess; may you know how to use; may you gratefully acknowledge! I say this, because one cannot without Indignation, observe, that amidst the full Possession of it, you still continue, with the meanest Affectation, to fill your Prefaces with repeated Clamours against the Difficulties and Discouragements attending the Exercise of Free-thinking: and, in a peculiar Strain of Modesty and Reasoning, make use of this very Liberty to persuade the World you still want it. In extolling Liberty we can join with you; in the Vanity of pretending to have contributed most to its Establishment, we can bear with you; but, in the low Cunning of pretending still to lie under Restraints, we can neither join nor bear with you. There was indeed a Time, and that within our own Memories, when such Complaints were seasonable and meritorious; but, happy for you, Gentlemen, you have outlived it: All the rest is merely Sir *Martin*; 'tis continuing to fumble at the Lute, though the Music has been long over. For it is not a thing to be disguised, that all we hear from you, on this Head, is but an aukward, tho' envenomed Imitation of an Original Work of one, whoever he was, who appears to have been amongst the greatest, and most successful of your Adversaries. It was published at an important Juncture, under the Title of, *The Difficulties and Discouragements which attend the Study of the Scripture*. But with all the Merit of this beautiful Satire,
it

it has been its Fortune not only to be abused by your bad Imitations, but to be censured by those in whose Cause it was composed; I mean the real Friends of Religion and Liberty. An Author of Note thus expresses himself: *a Nor was this the worst: Men were not only discouraged from studying and revering the Scriptures by — but also by being told that this Study was difficult, fruitless, and dangerous; and a public, an elaborate, an earnest Dissuasive from this Study, for the very Reasons now mentioned, enforced by two well known Examples, and believed from a Person of great Eminence in the Church, hath already passed often enough through the Press, to reach the Hands of all the Clergymen in Great-Britain and Ireland: God in his great Mercy forgive the Author.* Seriously it is a sad Case! That one well-meaning Man should so widely mistake the End and Design of another, as not to see, by the Turn and Cast of the *Difficulties and Discouragements*, that it is a thorough Irony, addressed to some hot Bigots then in Power, to shew them what dismal Effects that inquisitorial Spirit, with which they were possessed, would have on Literature in general, at a Time when public Liberty looked with a very sickly Face! Not, I say, to see this, but to believe on the contrary, that it was really intended as *a public, an elaborate, an earnest Dissuasive from the Study of the Scriptures!* But I have so charitable an Opinion of the great Author, for a great Author without doubt he was, as to believe that

b Revelation examined with Candour, in the Preface.

had he foreseen the Liberty, that animates this fine turned Piece of Raillery, would have given Scandal to any good Man, he would, for the Consolation of such, have made any reasonable Abatement in the Vigour of his Wit and Argument.

But you, Gentlemen, have a different Quarrel with him: You pretend he hath since wrote on the other side the Question. Now though the Word of his Accusers is not apt to go very far with me, yet I must own, I could be easily enough brought to believe, that an Author of such Talents of Literature, Love of Truth, and of his Country, as this appears to have been, would as freely expose the extreme Folly at one End, as at the other; without regarding what Party he opposed or favoured by it. And it is well known, that at the Time this is pretended to have been done, another Interest being become uppermost, strange Principles of Licence, which tended to subvert all Order, and destroy the very Essence of a Church, ran now in the popular Stream. What then should hinder a Writer, who was of no Party but that of Truth, to oppose this Extravagance, as he had done its Opposite? And if he pleased neither Bigot nor Libertine by his Uniformity of Conduct, it was because they were so.

How rare, how excellent, how public a Blessing is such a Virtue! which, unawed by that *Fatal Enemy of Sense*, as the Poet calls it, the *Danger of offending*, dares equally oppose itself to the different Follies of Party in Extremes.

But

But to our Subject: The poor thread-bare Cant of *Want of Liberty*, I should hope then you would be, at length, persuaded to lay aside: But that I know such Insinuations are amongst your Arts of Controversy; and that something is to be allowed to a weak Cause, and a Reputation that requires managing. We know what to understand by it, when after a successful Insult on Religion, the *Reader* is entreated to believe that you have a strong Reserve, which only waits the setting open the larger Port of Liberty, yet shut against you.

Thus, at the very Entrance of your Works, you teach us what we are to expect. But I must beg your Patience, now I am got thus far, to lay before you your principal Abuses of that Liberty indulged to you for better Purposes; or to give them the softest Name I can, in an Address of this Nature, your ARTS OF CONTROVERSY.

By this I shall at once practise the Charity I have professed, and justify the Opinion I have passed upon you.

Your Writers, I speak it, Gentlemen, to your Honour, offer your Considerations to the World, either under the Character of Petitioners for oppressed and injured Truth; or of Teachers to ignorant and erring Mankind. These sure are Characters that, if any, require Seriousness and Gravity to support them. But so great a Stranger to Decorum, for the most Part, is Man, on his Entry on the Stage of Life, that, like *Bays's* Actor in the *Rehearsal*, who was at a loss to know whether he was to be serious or merry, melancholy

choly or in love, he runs on in a strange jumbled Character; but has, most an end, a strong Disposition to make a Farce of it, and mingle Buffoonry with the most serious Scenes. Hence, in religious Controversy, even while the great Cause of eternal Happiness is trying, and Men and Angels, as it were, attending the Issue of the Conflict, we can find room for a merry Story; and receive the Advocate of Infidelity with much welcome, if he comes but with a Disposition to make us laugh: Though he brings the Tidings of *Death*, and scatters round him the Poison of our *Hopes*, yet, like *the dying Assassin*^c, we can laugh along with the Mob, though our own Despair and Agonies concluded the Entertainment^d.

This Quality in a Writer making him so well received, yours have been tempted to dispense with the Solemnity of their Character; as thinking it of much Importance to get the Laugh on their Side. Hence *Ridicule* is become your favourite Figure of Speech; and your Writers have composed distinct Treatises to vindicate its Use, and manifest its Utility. But to be fair with you, it must be owned, that this extravagant Disposition in the Reader towards unseasonable Mirth, drives all Parties upon being witty where they

^c *Balthazar Gerard*, who murdered the *Prince of Orange*. See his Story.

^d Hence *Anthony Urceus*, surnamed *Codrus*, as vain and impious as any Free-thinker alive, being asked the Reason (as we are told by *Blanchini*, the Writer of his Life) why he mixed so much Buffoonry in his Works, replied, *That Nature had formed Mankind in such a manner, as to be most taken with Buffoons and Story-tellers.*

can, as being conscious of its powerful Operation in Controversy ; Ridicule having from the hands of a skilful Disputant, the same Effect in barbarous Minds, with the new invented Darts^e of *Marius*, that, though so weak as to break in the throw, and pierce no farther than the Outside, yet sticking there, they more entangle and incommode the Combatant, than those Arms, which fly stronger, and strike deeper. However an Abuse it is, and the most pernicious too of the Liberty of the Press. For what greater Affront to the Severity of Reason, the Sublimity of Truth, and the Sanctity of Religion, than to subject them to the impure Touch of every empty scurrilous Buffoon? The Politeness of *Athens*, which you pretend so much to admire, should be here a Lesson to you ; which committed all Questions of this Nature, when they were to be examined, to their gravest and severest Court, the *Areopagus* : Whose Judges would not suffer the Advocates for either Party to apply to the Passions, so much as by the common Rules of the chastest Rhetoric^f. But a preposterous Love of Mirth has turned you all into Wits, quite down from the sanguine Writer of *the Independent Whig*, to the atrabilaire Blasphemer of the Miracles. Though it would be but Charity to tell you a plain Truth, which *Tully* told your illustrious Predecessors long ago, when infected with the same Distemper : *Ita salem istum, quo caret vestra natio, in irridentis nobis nolite consumere. Et mehercule, si*

^e See *Plut. Vit. Mar.*

^f See *Lucian de Gymnasticis.*

me audiat, ne experiamini quidem: Non decet; non datum est; non potestis. However, if you will needs be witty, take once more your Example from the great Author of *the Difficulties*; and learn from him, the Difference between the *Attic* Irony, and Elegance of Wit, and your intemperate Scurrility, and illiberal Banter.

What a Noise, you will say, for a little harmless Mirth. Ah, Gentlemen! if that were all, you had my leave to laugh on: I would say with the old Comic,

Utinam malè qui mihi volunt, sic rideant.

But low and mean as your Buffoonry is, it is yet to the level of the People: and by it you lead captive, silly Fellows, laden with Sins, led away with divers Lusts, who are as little solicitous, as capable, of the Point of Argument, so they can but catch the Point of Wit. Amongst such, and to such, you write: and it is inconceivable what Havoc false Wit makes in a foolish Head: *The Rabble of Mankind*, as an excellent Writer well observes, being very apt to think, that every thing which is laughed at, with any mixture of Wit, is ridiculous in itself^e. Few reflect on what a great Wit^h has so ingenuously owned, *That Wit is generally false Reasoning.*

But one, in whom your Party most glories, hath wrote in Defense of this abusive way of Wit and Raillery, on serious Subjects. Let us

^e Mr. Addison's Works. vol. iii. p. 293. Quarto.

^h Mr. Wycherley to Mr. Pope, Letter 16.

hear him thenⁱ: *Nothing is ridiculous, except what is deformed; nor is any thing Proof against Raillery, except what is handsome and just: And therefore it is the hardest thing in the World to deny fair Honesty the Use of this Weapon; which can never bear an Edge against herself. One may defy the World to turn Bravery or Generosity into Ridicule: A Man must be soundly ridiculous, who with all the Wit imaginable, would go about to ridicule Wisdom, or laugh at Honesty or good Manners. Yes, ridiculous indeed, to laugh at Bravery, Generosity, Wisdom, Honesty, or good Manners, as such: And I hardly think, Gentlemen, as licentious as some of you are, you will be ever brought to accept of this Defiance. And why need you, when it is but shewing them with over-charged and distorted Features, to laugh at Leisure. Call them but Temerity, Prodigality, Gravity, Simplicity, Foppery, and, as you have oft experienced, the Business is done. And what Security will this Writer give us that they shall not be so called? I am persuaded, if you are never to be thought ridiculous till you become so, in the Way this Gentleman marks out, you may go safely on in the Freedom of Wit and Humour, till there be never a Virtue left, to laugh out of Countenance.*

But he will say, he means such clear Virtue as hath no equivocal Mark about her for a Prevaricator to lay hold of. Admit this: he will

ⁱ *Characteristicks*, vol. i. *Essay on the Freedom of Wit and Humour*.

then clap her on a Fool's Coat; and when he cannot make her ridiculous in her Person, will try to make her so by her Equipage.

However, will he say, it shews at least, that nothing can be done against her till she be disguised. A mighty Consolation this to expiring Virtue, that she cannot be destroyed till you have put her on a Fool's Coat. As if it was as hard to get one *on*, as *Hercules's off*; though in the Reverse of this there is a Likeness, and we have frequently seen, that when once *on*, it sticks as close as that envenomed one of old, and lasts her to her Expiration.

But if this noble Writer means that Truth cannot be obscured, however attempted to be disguised, nor consequently, become ridiculous, however represented; this is a great Mistake. As I shall now shew in two celebrated Instances: In the first, nothing can be stronger than the Ridicule, nor, at the same time, more open and transparent than the Disguise; in the latter, nothing more obscured than the Beauty of the Truth ridiculed, nor more out of Sight than the Fallacy in the Representation; which will both teach us, that any kind of Disguise will serve the Turn, and, that witty Men will never be at a Loss for one.

Of all the Virtues that were so much in this noble Writer's Heart, and in his Writings, there was not one he more adored than LOVE OF PUBLIC LIBERTY, or which he would less suspect liable to the Impressions of Buffoonry. I think I hear him say, *One may defy the*
World

World to turn the Love of public Liberty into Ridicule : A Man must be soundly ridiculous, who with all the Wit imaginable would go about it.

However, once on a Time, a certain great Wit set upon this Task ; and undertook to laugh at this very Virtue ; and that too, so successfully, that he set the whole Nation a laughing with him. What mighty Engine, you will ask, was employed, to put in Motion so large a Body, and for so extraordinary a Cause ? Why, *in good faith*, as the Clown in *Shakespear* says, *but a Trifle neither, if the Learned should speak Truth of it* : It is a Discourse, of which all the Wit consists in the Title, and that sculking too, as you will see, under one unlucky Word. *Mrs. Bull's Vindication of the indispensable Duty of CUCKOLDOM, incumbent upon Wives, in Case of the Tyranny, Infidelity, or Insufficiency of Husbands*^k. Now had the merry Reader but be-thought himself, that Reason was the true Test of Ridicule, he would have seen to rectify the Proposition, and to state it fairly thus : *The indispensable Duty of DIVORCE, &c.* And then the Joke had been over, before the Laugh could have been begun.

And now let this noble Writer tell us, as he does, that *fair Honesty can never bear an Edge against herself, for that nothing is ridiculous but what is deformed* ; and a great deal to the same Purpose, which his *Platonic Manners* had supplied him with.

^k *History of John Bull, first Part, c. 13.*

But very often the Change put upon us is not so easily discernible. *Sulpicius* tells *Cicero*, that returning by Sea from *Asia*, and seeing in his Course *Ægina*, *Megara*, the *Piræus*, and *Corinth* in Ruins, he fell into this very natural and humane Reflexion: *And shall we, short-lived Creatures as we are, bear with Impatience the Death of our Fellows, when, in one single View we behold the Carcases of so many late flourishing Cities*¹? What could be juster or wiser than the Piety of this Reflexion? And yet it could not escape the Ridicule of a celebrated *French Buffoon*? *If neither*, says he^m, *the Pyramids of Egypt, nor the Colosseum at Rome could withstand the Injury of*

¹ *Ex Asia rediens, cum ab Ægina Megaram versus navigarem, cœpi regiones circumcirca prospicere. Post me erat Ægina; ante Megara; dextra Piræus; sinistra Corinthus: Quæ oppida quodam tempore florentissima fuerunt, nunc prostrata, & diruta ante oculos jacent. Cœpi egomet mecum sic cogitare: Hem! nos homunculi indignamur, si quis nostrum interiit, aut occisus est, quorum vita brevior esse debet, cùm uno loco tot oppidum cadavera projecta jaceant? L. iv. Ep. 5. Sulpicius M. T. Ciceroni.*

^m *Superbes monumens de l'orgueil des humains,
Piramides, Tombeaux, dont la vaine Structure
A temoigné que l'art, par l'adressedes mains
Et l'assidu travail, peut vaincre la Nature!
Vieux Palais ruinez, chef d'œuvres des Romains,
Et les derniers efforts de leur Architecture,
Collisée, où souvent ces peuples inhumains
De s'entr'assassiner se donnoient tablature,
Par l'injure des ans vous estes abolis,
Ou du moins la plus-part vous estes demolis:
Il n'est point de ciment que le temps ne dissoude,
Si vos marbres si durs ont sentis son pouvoir,
Dois-je trouver mauvais qu'un meschant pour point noir,
Qui m'a duré deux ans, soit percé par le coude?*

Scarron.

Time

Time; why should I think much that my black Waistcoat is out at Elbows? Here indeed the first Thing remarkable, is the resistless Force of Truth.

The Buffoon, before he could throw an Air of Ridicule on this admirable Sentiment, was forced to change the Image; and in the Place of *Ægina, Megara, &c.* to substitute the *Pyramids* and *Colosseum*. For these latter, as they were the Works of human Pride, and Folly, easily suffered a ridiculous Turn: But the former, as free Cities, and the Nurseries of Arts and Commerce, being the noblest Efforts of human Wisdom and Virtue, could not be set in any idle Light.

But then, how few of his Readers could detect the Change put upon them, when it is highly probable the Author himself did not see it? Who, perplexed at the obstinate Resistance of *Truth*, in the Conflict of his Ideas, imperceptibly turned the Edge of his Raillery against the Phantasm of *it*, and was the first that fell into his own Deceit.

Hence may be seen what the noble Writer seems to have spoken at random, at least not at all to the Purpose of the Question he was upon, that such indeed is the inflexible Nature of Truth that all the Wit in the World can never render it ridiculous, till it be so distorted as to shew like Error, or so disguised as to appear like Folly. A Circumstance which, though it prodigiously recommends the *Majesty of Virtue*, yet, as it cannot secure it from Insult, doth not

at all shew the *Innocence of Ridicule*; which was the Point he had to prove.

But to shew what little Good is to be expected in this Way of *Wit and Humour*, one may go farther; and observe, that even the Ridicule of *false* Virtue, which surely deserves no Quarter, hath been sometimes attended with very mischievous Effects. The *Spaniards* have lamented, and I believe truly, that *Cervantes's* just and inimitable Ridicule of *Knight-Errantry* rooted up, with that Folly, a great deal of their *true Honour*. And it appears very evident, that *Butler's* fine Satire on *Fanaticism* contributed not a little to bring *sober Piety* into Discredit during the licentious Times of *Charles II.* The Reason is evident: There are many Shadows of Resemblance between Truth and its Counterfeits. And it is the Province of *Wit* only to find out the *Likenesses* in Things; and not the Talent of the *common Readers of it* to discover the *Differences*.

But you will say perhaps, Let Truth, when thus attacked, defend itself with the same Arms: For why, as your Master asks, should *fair Honesty* be denied the Use of this Weapon? Be it so: Come on then, and let us impartially attend the Issue. We have, upon Record, the most illustrious Example of this Contention that ever was. The Dispute I mean, was between *Socrates* and *Aristophanes*. Here *Truth* had all the Advantage of Place, of Weapons, and of Judges: The *First* employed his whole Life in the Cause of Virtue; the *Other* only a few
Comic

Comic Scenes against it. But, Heavens! against what Virtue? Against the purest and brightest Portion of it that ever enlightened the *Gentile* World. The Wit of *Aristophanes* is well known: That of *Socrates* was, in a supreme Degree, just, delicate, and strong; and, so *continued*, that it procured him the Name of the *Attic Buffoon*. The *Place* was the politest State in the politest Time, *Athens* in its Glory; and the *Judges* the grave Senators of *Areopagus*. For all this, the Comic Poet triumphed: And with the coarsest kind of Buffoonry, little fitted, one would think, to take so polite a People, had the Art to tarnish all this Virtue; and what was more, to make the Owner resemble his direct Opposite, that Character he was most unlike, that Character he most hated, that very Character he had employed all his Wit to detect, lay open, and confound; in one Word, the SOPHIST. The Consequences are well known.

Thus will *Raillery*, in Defence of Vice and Error, be still an Overmatch for that employed on the Side of Truth and Virtue. Because *fair Honesty* uses, though a sharp, yet an unstained Weapon; while Knavery strikes with one empoisoned, tho' much duller. The honest Man employs his Wit as correctly as his Logic: whereas the very Definition of a Knave's Buffoonry is a Sophism.

I hope then, Gentlemen, you will in Time be brought to own that this Method is the most Unfair and Pernicious, that a sincere Searcher after Truth can be betrayed into: That its na-

tural Effect is to obscure the Understanding, and to make the Heart dissolute.

It is a small Matter the State requires of you, Sobriety, Decency, and good Manners, to qualify you for the noble Employment of thinking freely, and at Ease. We have been told this, you will say, before. But, when it came to be explained, by *sober Writing* was meant, writing in the *Language of the Magistrate*. It may be so: But then, remember, it was not till you yourselves had led the Way to the Abuse of Words; and had called Calumny, Complaint; and a scurril Licence, Urbanity. Happy for you that you are in Times when Liberty is so well understood. Had you lived in the boasted Days of Classic Freedom, he amongst you that had escaped best, had been branded with a Character the ancient Sages esteemed most infamous of all, AN ENEMY TO THE RELIGION OF HIS COUNTRY. An excellent Person, and one of your most formidable Adversaries, speaking of the ancient Restraints on Freethinking, says: *These were the Maxims, these the Principles, which the Light of Nature suggested, which Reason dictated*ⁿ. Nor has this fine Writer any Cause to be ashamed of this Acknowledgment; nor his Adversaries any Pretence that he must needs esteem it the Measure for the present Times. For, as a great Ancient well observes: *'Tis one Thing to speak of Truth, and another, to hear Truth speak of herself*^o. It was

ⁿ Letter to Dr. Waterland, p. 52. and seq.
^o "Ἄλλως τις περὶ ἀληθείας λέγει, ἄλλως ἢ ἀλήθεια ἑαυτὴν ἐξημενύει.

Christian TRUTH and CHARITY, the Truth and Charity you so much insult, which only could take off those Restraints; and require no more of you than to be *as free, and not using your Liberty for a Cloak of Maliciousness.*

I have now done with your Buffoonry; which, like chewed Bullets, is against the Law of Arms; and come next to your Scurrilities, those Stink-pots of your offensive War.

The Clergy of the established Church, being those, who, amongst us, have been *particularly* watchful tho' in the common Cause of *Christianity*, and most successful in repelling the Insults of its Enemies, have fallen under the heaviest Load of your Calumny and Slander. With unparallel'd Licence, you have gone on, representing the whole Body as debauched, avaricious, proud, vindictive, ambitious, deceitful, irreligious, and incorrigible. *An order of Men profligate and abandoned to Wickedness, inconsistent with the Good of Society, irreconcilable Enemies to Reason, and Conspirators against the Liberty and Property of Mankind^p.* And so low have you descended in your Ribaldry, as to descant upon their very *Hats and Habits^q*. This is the Conduct of your Leaders: For I would not be so hard upon you, as to expect you should be answerable for the Disorders of that loose undisciplined Rabble, that forlorn Hope, who roll to-

^p *Rights of the Christian Church, and Christianity as old as the Creation, passim.*

^q *The Independent Whig, passim.*

gether in the *Old Whig*, and only follow the Camp for Mischief and Plunder.

To fill up your common Place of Slander, the most inconsistent Qualities are raked together to adorn them: Qualities that could never stand together but in Idea; and in the Idea of a Free-thinker too.

The Order is now represented as the most contemptible of Politicians, ever in the Wrong; and under a Fatality of continued Blunders, attending them as a Curse: But anon, we are alarmed with their deep laid Schemes of a separate Interest, so wisely conducted, as to elude and baffle all the Policy of Courts, and Wisdom of Legislatures.

Now they are a Set of superstitious Bigots; *Blind Leaders of the Blind*; red hot Zealots, always prompt to sacrifice the Rights of Humanity, to what they call the Cause of God: But now again, they are a *Cabal of mere Politiques; Tartufes without Religion; Atheists in Black Gowns; Apostates without Faith or Law.*

Now so closely united in one common Confederacy, that they make their Cause the Cause of Religion; *rising together like a Nest of Hornets*, to revenge an Insult done to one of their Body, while they leave no Ways untried to screen *their offending Brethren* from Punishment: But on a sudden, this wise and close Policy is dissolved; the Church is become a State of Anarchy; *and the Clergy are perpetually tearing and worrying one another*; to the great Scandal
of

of that pious *Christian*, the Author of the *Discourse of Freethinking*.

But it is to be hoped, as the Evidence is so ill packed, the whole Accusation may be groundless.

You will say, that in this you do but copy from our own Accounts; which being given of ourselves, may surely be depended on. I know indeed there has been a *Hickeringall* of old, a *Woolston* of late, and perhaps, one or two more, happier in their Obscurity^r. But these are Monsters rarely seen, and universally abhorred. I wonder our Ancestors could conceive this to be a Degeneracy likely for any Race of Animals to fall into; as they seem to have done, by their coarse Proverb of an *Ill Bird*. I, for my part, know of none but the *Fail Bird*, and one or two of *these*, that speak Evil of the Places to which they belong: And both for the same Reason, because they had been brought to Justice there.

But if the whole Body cannot escape your Virulence, what must the Particulars of it expect from you? And where must we believe you would shed your Venom, but on those, whose Eminence exposes them to the Blasts of Calumny?

Is there a Prelate, who has been more than ordinary successful in the Cause of common *Chri-*

^rSee the Paper called the *Old Whig*, and the *Whitehall Evening-Post*, June 22—24. 1738.

stianity? He is sure to be stigmatised for a *Jacobite*, and an Enemy to his Country^s.

Is there another, whose Vigilance and Firmness secures the just Rights and Immunities of the established Church? Such a one is *the express Image of Priestcraft, with insolent Grimace, and powerless Formality*^t.

But what talk I of the Clergy, when there is not one, however otherwise esteemed by, or related to you, that can escape your Slander, if he happen to discover any kind of Inclination for that Cause, against which you are so passionately bent? Mr. *Locke*, the Glory of this Age, and the Blessing of Futurity, shews us, in the Treatment he received both from his Friend and his Pupil, what a Believer is to expect from you. It was enough to provoke their Spleen, that he had shewn *the Reasonableness of Christianity*, and had placed all his *Hopes of Happiness in another Life*. The Intimacy between him and Mr. *Collins* is well known. Mr. *Collins* affects to have idolized Mr. *Locke* while living, and Mr. *Locke* was confident Mr. *Collins* would *preserve his Memory when dead*^v. But he was mistaken in his Man: For no sooner was he gone to rest, than Mr. *Collins* publickly^w insults a Notion of his *honoured Friend's* concerning the *Possibility of*

^s See *The Answer to the Country Parson's Plea*, p. 101.

^t See p. 100. of the same Tract.

^v *I know you loved me living, and will preserve my Memory now I am dead*, says he in the Letter to be delivered to Mr. *Collins* at his Death.

^w *Answer to Dr. Clarke's 3d Defence of his Letter to Mr. Dodwell*, at the End,

conceiving how Matter might first be made and begin to be: And goes affectedly out of his Way to it. The noble Author of *the Characteristics* had received * Part of his Education from that great Philosopher: And it must be owned, that this Lord had many excellent Qualities, both as a Man, and a Writer. He was temperate, chaste, honest, and a Lover of his Country. In his Writings he has shewn how largely he had imbibed the deep Sense, and how naturally he could copy the gracious Manner of *Plato*. How far Mr. *Locke* contributed to the cultivating these Qualities, I will not enquire: But that inveterate Rancour which he indulged against *Christianity*, it is certain, he had not from him. It was Mr. *Locke*'s Love of it that seems principally to have exposed him to his Pupil's bitterest Insults. One of the most precious Remains of the true Piety of that incomparable Man, are his last Words to Mr. *Collins*: "May you live
" long and happy, &c. all the Use to be made
" of it is, *that this World is a Scene of Vanity,*
" *that soon passes away, and affords no solid Satis-*
" *faction,* but the Consciousness of well doing,
" and the HOPES OF ANOTHER LIFE. This
" is what I can say by Experience, and what
" you will find when you come to make up
" your Account." One would imagine, that if ever the parting Breath of pious Men, or the last Precepts of dying Philosophers, could claim Reverence of their Survivors, this inestimable Monument of Friendship, and Religion, had

* Voiez *Bibl. Choisie*, tom. 6. p. 343.

been secure from Outrage. Yet hear, in how unworthy, how cruel a Manner, his noble Disciple apostrophizes him on this Occasion: “*Philosopher!* let me hear concerning Life, “ what the right Notion is, and what I am to “ stand to upon Occasion; that I may not, “ when Life seems retiring, or *has run itself* “ *out to the very Dregs*”, cry VANITY! con- “ demn the WORLD, and at the same Time “ complain that LIFE IS SHORT AND PAS- “ SING. For why so *short* indeed, if not found “ *sweet*? Why do I complain both Ways? Is “ *Vanity*, mere Vanity, a Happiness; or can “ *Misery pass away* too soon?” Here the po- lite Author had the noble Pleasure of ridiculing the *Philosopher* and the *Psalmist*^a together. But I will leave the strange Reflexions, that naturally arise from hence, to the Reader; who, I am sure, will be beforehand with me in judging, that Mr. *Locke* had Reason to *condemn a World* that afforded such a *Friend and Pupil*^b.

^y Mr. *Locke* was then in his 73^d Year.

^z *Characteristics*, vol. I. p. 302. 3^d Ed.

^a *Man is like to Vanity: His Days are as a Shadow that passeth away.* PSAL. cxliv. 4.

^b The Spite he bore his Master is inconceivable: He did not disdain to take up with those vulgar Calumnies that Mr. *Locke* had again and again confuted. Some even (says he, *Charact.* vol. i. p. 80. 3^d Ed.) of our most admired modern Philosophers had fairly told us, that *Virtue and Vice* had, after all, no other Law or Measure than mere Fashion and Vogue. The Case is this: When Mr. *Locke* reasons against *innate Ideas*, he brings it as one Argument against them, that *Virtue and Vice* in many Places, were not regulated by the Nature of Things, which they must have been, were there such *innate Ideas*: But by mere Fashion and Vogue. Is this then fairly told of our admired modern *Philosopher*? But it was Crime enough that he laboured to over-

But

But to return, Gentlemen, to your Abuse of the Clergy: This is not only an Insult on *Religion*, which you seem by your Practice, to regard as one of the necessary Branches of literary Liberty, but likewise on *Civil Society*. For while there is such a Thing as a Church *established by Law*, the *Ministry* of it must needs bear a *sacred* Character, that is, a public one; even on your own Principles^c. Any Insult therefore on them, as a Body, becomes an *Affront* to the State that conferred the Character. It is an high *Injury* likewise, because a Body politic cannot preserve the Veneration necessary for the Sup-

throw *innate Ideas*; Things that the noble Author understood to be the Foundation of his *Moral Sense*. (See vol. III. p. 214.) In vain did Mr. *Locke* incessantly repeat, that *the Divine Law is the only true Touchstone of moral Rectitude*. This did but increase his Pupil's Resentment, who had all his Faculties so possessed with the MORAL SENSE, as *the only true Touchstone of moral Rectitude*; that, like the Knights-Errant of old, he stood up Challenger against all Opposers, for the superior Charms of his *Idol*. But the whole Essay itself, one of the noblest, the usefullest, the most original Books the World ever saw, cannot escape his Ridicule: *In reality* (says he, vol. I. p. 299.) *how specious a Study, how solemn an Amusement, is raised from what we call philosophical Speculations! The Formation of Ideas! their Compositions, Comparisons, Agreement, and Disagreement! — Why do I concern myself in Speculations about my Ideas? What is it to me, for Instance, to know what kind of Idea I can form of Space? "Divide a solid Body, &c."* and so he goes on in Mr. *Locke's* own Words: And lest the Reader should not take the Satire, a Note at the Bottom of the Page informs us, that *these are the Words of the particular Author cited*. But the invidious Remark on this Quotation surpasses all Credit. Thus the Atomist, or EPICUREAN. The Free-thinkers after this, can never sure upbraid us with our Flippancy in giving the *Deist* and *Atheist* to those we do not like, when the very Hero of their Cause is thus taken in the Fact.

^c *They also that have Authority to teach, &c. are public Ministers.* *Leviathan*, p. 124.

port of its Authority, longer than its public Officers, whether Civil or Religious, receive the Reverence due to their respective Stations^d. And here, your Excuse, when charged with treating holy Writ irreverently, is out of doors. You pretend that the Charge is unjust; because it takes for granted the Thing in Dispute. But in the Case before us, it is allowed on all Hands, that the Ministry of the established Worship hath a *sacred*, that is, a *public* Character.

Out of your own Mouths too, are you condemned. A few Instances there are in the first Ages of *Christianity*, of something resembling this Misconduct; where the Intemperance of private Zeal now and then gave the Affront to the national Religion. But who are they that so severely censure this accidental Disorder? That raise such tragic Outcries against the factious Spirit of primitive *Christianity*? Who, Gentlemen, but yourselves! The very Men who, out of Spite and Wantonness, daily persist in doing what a misguided Devotion, now and then, though rarely, betrayed a Martyr to commit^e.

But would you read *Christian* Antiquity with equal Minds, you would not want Examples of a better Conduct. For in general the Apologists for the *Christian* Faith observed a Decency and Moderation, becoming the Truth and Importance of the Cause they had to support. We

^d Ἀρχισιν ἡ ὀφειλομένη αἰδώς καὶ τιμὴ φυλασσομένη κόσμον σώζει πόλεως, καὶ λατρεῖται. *Ant. Scrip. apud Stob. de rep. Serm. 41.*

^e See *Bayle's Dict.* Art. ABDAS.

need only look into *Lactantius* for the Continnence they practised in this Regard.

This eloquent Apologist, who wrote in an Age that would have indulged greater Liberties, giving, in his *Divine Institutions*, the last Stroke to expiring Paganism, where he confutes the *national Religion*, spares as much as possible the *Priests*; but in exposing their *Philosophy*, is not so tender of their *Sophists*: For these last having no public Character, the State was not concerned to have them managed. Such, I say, was the general Behaviour of the first *Christians*.

Nor can you plead, in your Excuse, that you lie under any Necessity, but that inseparable from a weak Cause, of committing this Outrage. The Discovery of Truth is so far from being advanced by it, that on the contrary it carries all the Marks of Disingenuity, when you so industriously draw off the Reader's Attention from the *Cause*, by diverting him at the Expence of the *Advocate*.

It is true, that at what Time the Ministry so far forgot the Nature of their Office, and of the Cause they were entrusted to defend, as to call in the secular Arm to second their Arguments against wrong Opinions, we saw without much Surprise or Resentment, you, Gentlemen, in the same Delusion ^f of a contrary Extreme; falling without Scruple to affront the State, then little disposed to give you an equitable Hearing; by abusing a Body, whose *private* Interests the State

^f Both Sides believing any means lawful to support what they thought the Truth.

had indiscreetly espoused. For where was the Wonder, when the State had assumed too much, for those oppressed by it, to allow it too little? They thought this a fair Reprisal, and their candid Enemies confessed that some Indulgence was to be given to the Passions of Men, raised and inflamed by so hard a Treatment. But now that the *State* hath withdrawn and confined its Power within its proper Office; and that this *learned Body*, as such, publicly disclaims its Aid; it will sure be expected, that you should likewise return to a right Mind, and forsake a Practice insolently continued, without any reasonable Pretence of fresh Provocation.

Your last Abuse, Gentlemen, of the Liberty of the Press, is in a certain Diffoluteness of Mind, regardless both of Truth and Falshood, which you betray in all your Attacks of Revelation. Who that had not heard of your solemn Professions *of the Love of Liberty, of Truth, of Virtue, of your Aim at the Honour of God, and Good of Man*, could ever believe you had any thing of this in View, when they see that Spirit of Levity, which so grotesquely animates your Writings?

That you may not say I slander you, I will produce those Marks in your Works, on which I have formed my Accusation, of this abandoned Disposition.

1. The first is an illimited Buffoonry; which suffers no Test or Criterion to your Ridicule, to shew us, when you are in jest, and when in earnest.

2. An

2. An industrious Affectation in keeping your true Personage out of Sight; and in perpetually assuming some new fictitious Character.

3. A Love of Chicane and Contradiction; supported by a monstrous Mixture of Scepticism and Dogmatizing.

And here, Gentlemen, in illustrating these three Characters of your Guilt, I could detect all the *Arts of Controversy* in use amongst you; and display the whole Mystery of modern *Freetinking*. But the Limits of this Address will only permit me to describe in a few Words, the Nature of each, in order to shew how certain Notes they are of the Temper of Mind I charge upon you.

1. The illimited undistinguished Irony, that leaves no Marks of Insight into the Author's Meaning, or room so much as to guess what he would be at, is our first Note. This, which is your favourite Extravagance, the noble Author, who was so much your Friend, calls ^g *a dull sort of Wit which amuses all alike*. Nay, he even ventures to pronounce it *a gross, immoral, and illiberal Way of Abuse, foreign to the Character of a good Writer, a Gentleman, or Man of Worth*^h. 'Tis pity he should fall under his own Censure: But this is certain, there is no Way of escaping his Admirers, uncharged of Credulity or Uncharitableness, which Way soever we determine of his *real* Sentiments. However he has not overloaded this Extravagance, in

^g *Charact.* vol. 1. Tract. 2. pt. 1. § 2.

^h Vol. 3. Miscel. 4. c. 2.

the *Character* he has given of it: For here, quite forgetful of your own Precepts (which is your Common-place Topic against public Instructors) while you prescribe Ridicule to be so managed, *as to shew it tends to a serious Issue*; you practise it on all Subjects so indiscriminately, as to make one think you all the Time in jest. While you direct it *to unmask formal Hypocrisy*, you suffer it to put sober Truth out of Countenance; and while you claim its Aid, *to find out what is to be laughed at in every Thing*; you employ it to bring in every thing to be laughed at.

That a Restraint on free Enquiry, will force Writers into this vicious Manner, we readily allow. Under those Circumstances, such a Key to Ridicule as just Writing demands, being unsafe; and the only Way to escape Persecution, to cover and intrench themselves in Obscurity; it is no Wonder that *Ridicule* should degenerate into the *Buffoonry* that *amuses all alike*: As in *Italy*, which gave Birth to this Species of Writing, it is the only Way, in which the poor cramp thinking Wretches can discharge a free Thought. But happily for Truth, in *Great Britain*, you, the Genii of the Times, are free; and may philosophize at your Ease, through all the Modes of doubting, objecting, and confuting. Much less Reason have you to suspect your good Reception in the World, if you speak without Disguise. You have a Cause that will bear you out, and supply all your Deficiencies: A Cause which now-a-days so sancti-
fies

fies the Character of the Advocate, that we have seen Writers of each of the three learned Professions, who, while they confined their Pens to their proper Studies, have with Difficulty made themselves so far known as to be despised; but have no sooner struck into this high Road to Fame, and wrote against the Religion of their Country, than they became great and terrible Authors, and even recovered, in a good Measure, from the Contempt of their own Faculties. For Infidelity hath the Virtues of *Lord Peter's brown Loaf*, and contains inclusively the Quintessence of Learning, Wit, and Argument.

It is hardly possible for us therefore to assign any other reasonable Cause of this Extravagance, than that vicious Levity of Spirit we complain of. For as Man is formed by Nature with an incredible Appetite for the Pursuit of Truth; so his strongest Pleasure, in the Possession of it, arises from the actual Communication of it to others. Without this, it would be a cold Purchase, would be abstract, ideal, solitary Truth; and poorly repay the Labour and Fatigue of the Search. Amongst the Ancients, who, it must be owned, had high Notions of this *social Sense*, it was a Saying recorded by *Cicero* with Approbationⁱ, *that even Heaven would be no Happiness, without some Companion or social Spirit to share with him in the great Truths there to be discovered.* “ Si quis in Cœlum ascendisset, natu-
“ ramque mundi, & pulchritudinem siderum per-

ⁱ *De Amicitia.*

“spexisset, infuavem illam admirationem ei fore;
 “quæ jucundissima fuisset, si aliquem, cui nar-
 “raret, habuisset.” *Seneca* goes yet farther^k:
 “Nec me ulla res delectabit, licet eximia sit &
 “salutaris, quam mihi uni sciturus sim. Si cum
 “hac exceptione detur Sapiencia, ut illam inclu-
 “sam teneam, nec enunciem, rejiciam: Nullius
 “boni, sine socio, jucunda possessio est.” It was this
 Passion that gave Birth to Writing, and formed
 literary Composition into an Art; in order to
 perpetuate those Discoveries in the Sciences,
 which Particulars had, with so much Toil and
 Labour, fitted up for the public Entertainment.
 The principal Concern therefore of the Writer,
 while his Passions are in their natural State,
 must needs be to deliver and explain his Sen-
 timents and Opinions with all possible Perspi-
 cuity. So as no particular Cast of Composi-
 tion, or Turn of Expression, which he judged
 conducive to the Embellishment of his Work,
 should be able to throw any Ambiguity over it,
 that might tend to mislead his Reader concern-
 ing his real Sentiments. To such a one nothing
 can be more mortifying than to find that this his
 chief Design was become abortive.

But when, on the contrary, we see a Wri-
 ter, who is so far from discovering any thing of
 this Passion, that an Air of Negligence appears
 in every thing he delivers; a visible Contempt
 of his Reader's Judgment, to whose Satis-
 faction he prefers a malicious kind of Pleasure,
 arising from the Obscurity of an illimited Ri-

^k Ep. 6.

dicule; we cannot possibly avoid concluding him to be far gone in this wretched Depravity of Heart.

2. Another Mark, is your perpetually assuming some personated Character, as the Exigences of Chicane require. For the Dispute is to be kept on Foot; and therefore, when the Matter is in Danger of coming to an Issue, a new Personage is to be assumed, that the Contest may be fought over again with different Weapons. So that the modern Free-thinker, as may be seen by the *Coryphæus*¹ of your Choir, is a perfect *Proteus*. He is now a Dissenter, then a Papist, now again a Jew, and then a Mahometan; and, when closely pressed and hunted through all these Shapes, at length starts up in his genuine Form, an Infidel confess'd.

Indeed where the Magistrate hath confined the Liberty of free Debate, to one or two Professions, there a Dissenting Writer hath no Way of publishing his Speculations, but under the Cover of one of these authorized Professors. But to affect this Manner after the Necessity is over, is licentious and immoral. For the personated Character, only arguing *ad hominem*, embroils, rather than directs us, in the Search of Truth; has a natural Tendency to promote Scepticism; and if not this, yet keeps the Dispute from ever coming to an Issue; which is attended with great Inconveniences: For though the Discovery of speculative Truth

¹ Mr. Collins.

be of much Importance to the Perfection of Man's Nature, yet the affected lengthening out literary Debates, is greatly pernicious to Society, as Societies are generally formed. Therefore, though the Good of Mankind would set an honest Man upon publishing what he takes to be Discoveries in Truth; yet the same Motive would oblige him to take the fairest, and most direct Road to their Reception.

But I would not, by this, have it thought, that I condemn the assuming a personated Character on any Occasion whatever. There are Seasons when it is fair and expedient. When the Dispute is about the practical Application of some Truth to the good of a particular Society; there it is fair to take up a suitable Character, and argue *ad hominem*. For there, the End is a Benefit to be gained for that Society; and, it is not of so great Moment on what Principles the Majority is prevailed upon to make the Society happy, as it is, that it should speedily become so. But in the Discovery of abstract speculative Truth, the Affair goes quite otherwise. The Business here is *Demonstration*, not *Persuasion*. And it is of the Essence of Truth, to be made to appear and shine out only by Truths drawn from itself, as it is the *Dust* of it only that can polish the *Diamond*.

A famous Example will illustrate this Observation. Our great *British* Philosopher, writing for *Religious Liberty*, combats his *intolerant* Adversary, all the Way with his own Principles; well foreseeing that, in such a Time of Prejudices,

dices, Arguments built on received Opinions, would have greatest Weight, and make quickest Impression on the Body of the People, whom it was his Business to gain. But the Method he employed in defending a mere speculative Truth was very different. A Prelate of great Name, was pleased to attack his *Essay concerning Human Understanding*; who, though consummate in the Learning of the Schools, yet happen'd at that Time to apply his Principles so very awkwardly, as gave our Philosopher the most inviting Opportunity of turning them against him. An Advantage most to the Taste of him who contends only for Victory: But he contended for Truth; and was too wise to think of establishing it on Falshood; and too honest to affect triumphing over Error by any thing but by its Opposite.

You see then, Gentlemen, you are not likely to escape by this Distinction: The Dispute with you is about speculative Truth: Yourself take Care to give the World repeated Information of it, as often as you think fit to feign an Apprehension of the Magistrate's Resentment.

But of as little Use as this Method, of the *personated Character*, is, in itself, to the just End of Controversy, you generally add a double Share of Disingenuity in conducting it. Common Sense, as well as common Honesty, requires, that he who assumes a *personated Character*, should fairly stick by it, for that Turn at least. But we shall be greatly deceived, if we presume on so much Condescension: The

late famous Author of *The Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion*, took it into his Head to personate a *Jew*, in the Interpretation of some Prophecies which he would persuade us are not applicable to *Jesus*. The illustrious Prelate, who so solidly confuted him, having shewn that those Prophecies had no Completion under the *Jewish* Dispensation, concludes with all the Advantage of a full Answer, *that therefore, if they did not belong to Jesus, they belonged to no one*. What says our Impostor *Jew* to this? One would be astonished at the Infidel's Reply: *Suppose they do not*, says he, *I am not answerable for their Completion*. What! not as a *Jew*? whose Person he assumes, and whose Argument he borrows: Which Argument is not founded on this, That the Characters of Completion, according to the *Christian* Scheme, do not coincide and quadrate; to which, indeed, his Answer would be pertinent; but on this, That there are complete Characters of the Completion of the Prophecies, under the *Jewish* Oeconomy, and therefore, says the *Jew*, you are not to look for those Marks under the *Christian*. The only reasonable Way then of replying to this Argument, is to deny the Minor, that there are such Marks under the *Jewish* Oeconomy; which if the *Jew* cannot prove, his Objection founded on a *prior Completion*, is entirely overthrown. Instead of this, we are put off with the cold Buffoonry of, *I am not obliged to find a Meaning for your Prophecies*.

3. The third Mark of this abandoned Spirit, is that monstrous Mixture of Scepticism, and Dogmatizing, which so fantastically variegates your misshapen Works. I do not mean by it, that unreasonable Temper of Mind, which distinguishes the whole Class of Free-thinkers; and suffers you at the same Time, that you affect much Scepticism, in rejecting Revelation, to dogmatize very positively on some favourite Points of Belief. The noble Author, so oft before quoted, could not himself forbear to ridicule his Party for this Foible^m. *It must certainly, says he, be something else than Incredulity which fashions the Taste and Judgment of many Gentlemen, whom we hear censured as Atheists. — Who, if they want a true Israelitish Faith, can make amends by a Chinese or Indian one. — Though Christian Miracles may not so well satisfy them, they dwell with the highest Contentment on the Prodigies of Moorish and Pagan Countries.*

This is ill enough, but the Perversity I speak of is infinitely worse: And that is when the same Writer, on different Occasions assumes the Dogmatist and Sceptic on the very same Question; and so abuses both Characters, by the most perverse Self-contradiction.

For Instance, how common is it for one of your Writers, when he brings *Pagan* Antiquity to contradict and discredit the *Jewish*, to cry up a *Greek* Historian as an Evidence,

^m *Characteristics*, vol. i. p. 345. Edit. 3.

to which nothing can be replied? An imperfect Hint from *Herodotus*, or *Diodorus*, though one lived a Thousand, and the other fifteen Hundred Years after the Point in Question, picked up from any lying Vagabond they met in their Travels, shall now outweigh the circumstantial History of *Moses*; who wrote of his own People, and lived in the Times he wrote of. But now turn the Tables, and apply the Testimony of these Writers, and of others of the best Credit of the same Nation, to the Confirmation of *Jewish History*, and then nothing is more uncertain and fallacious than ancient Writings. All Antiquity is Darkneſs and Confuſion: Then we are ſure to hear of,

“ Quicquid Græcia mendax
 “ Audet in historia.

Then *Herodotus* is a lying Traveller, and *Diodorus Siculus* a haſty Collector.

Again, when the Choice and Separation of the *Iſraelites* for God's peculiar People, is to be brought in Doubt, and rendered ridiculous, then are they repreſented as the vileſt, moſt profligate, and perverſe Race of Men: Then every indiſcreet Paſſage of a *declamatory Divine* is raked up with Care to make them odious; and even the hard Fate of the great Historian *Joſephus* pitied, that he had *no better a Subject than ſuch an illiterate, barbarous and ridiculous People*ⁿ. But when the Scripture Account of

ⁿ *Discourſe of Free thinking*, p. 157.

the Treatment, which the Holy *Jefus* met with from them, is thought fit to be disputed, these *Jews* are become an humane and wise Nation; that interfered not with the Teachings of Sects, or the Propagation of Opinions, but where the public Safety was thought to be in Danger by seditious Doctrines.

But so it is, even with the Bible itself, and its best Interpreter, human Reason. It is generally allowed that the Author of *The Discourse of Free-thinking*, and of *The Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion*, was one and the same Person. Now it being his Purpose in the first Pamphlet, to blast the Credit of the Book in general, as a Rule of Faith, the Bible is there represented as a most obscure, dark, incomprehensible Collection of multifarious Tracts. But in his Discourse of *The Grounds, &c.* where ° he is to obviate the Reason we draw, of the Difficulty in explaining ancient Prophecies, from the Genius of the Eastern Style and Sentiment; on a sudden, this very Book is become so easy, plain, and intelligible, that none can possible mistake it's Meaning.

Again, the same Writer, where, in his *Essay concerning the Use of Reason*, he is upon Discrediting the Doctrine of the ever blessed Trinity, and other Mysteries of the *Christian Faith*, represents human Reason as omniscient, and

° *Discourse of Free-thinking*, p. 68. and of *the Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion*, p. 81—2.

the full Measure of all Things : But when the Proof of the Immateriality of the Soul, from the Qualities of Matter and Spirit, is to be obstinately opposed, the Scene is shifted, and we are presented with a new Face of Things : Reason is then become weak, staggering, and impotent : Then ^p we know not but one Quality may be another Quality ; one Mode another Mode : Then may Motion be Conscioufness ; and Matter sentient.

These, Gentlemen, are the several Ways, in which you have abused the Liberty of the Press. One might defy you, with all your good Will, to find out a new one, or to go farther in the old : So having done your worst, it is Time you should amend. This is the only Conclusion I would draw from your ill Conduct : So far am I from thinking with those, who say you ought to be disfranchised of the Rights you have so wantonly and wickedly abused. For could the simple Abuse so easily incur a Forfeiture, natural Rights would be strangely hazardous. Adventitious Rights, are, 'tis true, frequently bestowed on this Condition : And the Difference in Point of Security, is founded in the plainest Reason. *Natural* Rights are so necessary to our Being, that, without them, Life becomes miserable ; but the *Civil* only contributing to our easier Accommodation in some circumstantial Mat-

^p See his Answers to Dr. Clarke.

ters, may be lost without Injury to our common Nature. The not distinguishing between them, may have occasioned the Mistake: For the *common Lawyers* being solely conversant in these latter, and having judged that the Abuse of these incurs a Forfeiture; have sometimes rashly adventured to decide the Rights of Nature by the same Standard. But these Rights were bestowed on no such precarious Conditions. Nay, which deserves the most serious Reflection of all Men in Power, so far was God from exacting this Penalty, at the Period^a, when these Rights were most outrageously abused, that he not only continued, but enlarged and extended them: While on the contrary,

*Man, proud Man,
Drest in a little, brief Authority,
Most ignorant of what he's most assured,
Plays such fantastic Tricks before high
Heaven,
As make the Angels weep.*

But it will be said, However the particular Authors of these Abuses should be punished. I will here again, Gentlemen, become your Advocate; not for your own Sakes, who surely deserve no Favour; but for the Public's, which cannot, I think, inflict this Punishment with-

^a The general Deluge.

out great Mischief to literary and religious Liberty.

Abuses of natural Rights are of two kinds; which we should always carefully distinguish: The first is of such Malignity, as to invalidate, and even destroy the *Use*; and being of the Nature of a simple Fact, leaves no Room for recurring to a venal Judge's Interpretation: These Properties demand Punishment, as making it both necessary and safe. But there is another kind of *Abuse* that destroys not, but only discredits the *Use*; and in which the Matter of Right being intricately involved in that of Fact, a Magistrate has the largest Latitude of Interpretation: Here Punishment, for very obvious Reasons, is neither necessary nor safe. That the *Abuse of Ridicule* is of this latter kind, is evident. But besides these two kinds of *Abuse*, which we may call Original, there are two others, derivative from these, and compounded of them: As *first*, an *Abuse* that only discredits the *Use*; though it be of the Nature of a simple Fact: And of this kind is that, which is the Subject of the second Head of this Discourse; namely, *the Defamation of the Ministry of the established Worship*. *Secondly*, an *Abuse* that destroys the *Use*; but where yet the Matter of Fact is intricately involved in that of Right: Of which kind is the Subject of our third Head; namely, *a vicious Disregard to Truth and Falshood*. Now in neither of these Cases, should I think it fitting

fitting for the State to interfere: In the *first* it is not necessary, in the *second* it is not safe: And I presume it to be a Maxim in Politics, not to punish, but where these two *Qualities* of *Necessity* and *Safety* concur.

In a Word then, all that we desire is your Amendment; without any sinister Aim of calling upon the Magistrate to quicken you. So I leave you, as I dare say will *be*, to your selves :

*Mend when you can, grow better at your
Leisure.*

Nor let any good Man be above Measure scandalized for your Faults; or more impatient for your Reformation, than mere Charity requires. I don't know what Panic the present monstrous Growth of Infidelity may have thrown some of us into: I, for my part, confide so much in the Goodness of our Cause, that I too could be tempted to laugh in my Turn, while I think of an old Story told us by *Herodotus*, of your favourite *Egyptians*; of whom you are like to hear a great deal in the following Work. With this Tale I shall beg Leave to conclude my long Address unto you.

He tells us then, that at what Time their Deity, the *Nile*, returns into his ancient Channel, and the Husbandman hath committed the *good Seed* to the opening Glebe, it was their Custom

Custom to turn in whole Drovers of Swine; to range, to trample, root up, and destroy at Pleasure. And now nothing appeared but Desolation, while the Ravages of the obscene Herd had killed every chearful Hope of future Plenty. When on the Issue, it was seen, that all their Malice and Greediness had effected, was only this; that the Seed took better Root, incorporated more kindly with the Soil, and at length shot up in a more luxuriant and abundant Harvest.

I am,

GENTLEMEN, &c.



PREFACE

P R E F A C E

T O T H E

F I R S T E D I T I O N .

THE following Sheets make the first Volume of a Work, whose Contents may be found in a Book intituled, The Alliance between Church and State. As the Author was neither indebted, nor engaged to the Public, he hath done his Readers no Injury in not giving them more; and had they not had this, neither he nor they, perhaps, had esteemed themselves Losers. For writing for no Party, it is likely he will please none; and begging no Protection, it is more likely he will find none: And he must have more of the Confidence of a modern Writer than falls to his Share, to think of making much way with the feeble Effort of his own Reason. For so homely a Treat hath he here prepared for his Readers, that he is not conscious of borrowing a single Thought from any one, which he has not fairly acknowledged.

Writers, indeed, have been oft betrayed into strange absurd Conclusions from I can't tell what
obsolete

P R E F A C E.

obsolete Claim which Letters have to the Patronage of the Great: A Relation, if indeed there ever were any, long since worn out and lost; the Great now seeming reasonably well convinced, that it had never any better Foundation than the rhetorical Importunity of Beggars.

But however this Claim of Patronage may be understood, there is another of a more important Nature; which is, the Patronage of Religion. The Author begs Leave to assure those who have neither Ears to hear, nor Hearts to understand, I mean any Thing, but what concerns the Public Good, that the Protection of Religion is indispensably necessary to all Governments; and for his Warrant he offers them the following Volume; which endeavours to shew the Necessity of Religion in general, and of the Doctrine of a future State in particular, to Civil Society, from the Nature of Things, and the universal Consent of Mankind. The proving this, I make no Question, many Politicians will esteem sufficient: But those who are solicitous to have Religion true as well as useful, the Author will endeavour to satisfy in the following Volumes.

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S U M M A R Y
O F T H E
C O N T E N T S.

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THE



THE
DIVINE LEGATION
OF
MOSES
DEMONSTRATED.

BOOK I.

SECT. I.

THE Writers, in Defence of Revealed Religion, distinguish their Arguments into two Sorts: The one they call the *internal*, and the other the *external* Evidence. Of these, the first is, in its Nature, more simple and perfect; and even capable of Demonstration: while the other, made up of very dissimilar Materials, and borrowing Aid from without, must needs have some Parts of unequal Strength with the rest; and, consequently, lie open to the Attacks of a willing Adversary. Besides, the *internal* Evidence is, by its Nature, perpetuated; and so fitted for all Times and Periods: while the *external*, by Length of Time, weakens and decays. For the Nature and Genius of the Religion defended affording the Proofs

of the first Kind, these Materials of Defence are inseparable from its Existence; and so always at hand, and the same: But Time may, and doth efface Memorials independent of that Existence; out of which the *external* Evidence is composed. Which Evidence must therefore become more and more imperfect, without being affected by that whimsical and partial Calculation, to which a certain *Scotchman*^a would subject it^b. Nay, so necessary is the *internal* Evidence, that, even the very best of the *external* Kind cannot support itself without it: As may be seen from hence, that when the Miracles, performed by the Founders of our holy Faith, are unquestionably verified by human Testimony, the Consequence, that therefore they were wrought by divine Power, cannot be deduced 'till the Nature of that Doctrine be examined, for whose Establishment they were performed. But was there no other Benefit accruing from the Cultivation of the *internal* Evidence than the gaining, by it, a more perfect Knowledge of revealed Religion, this, surely, would fully recompense the Pains. That this is one of its Fruits I need not tell such as are

^a Craig. Theologiæ Christ. Principia Mathematica, London 1699. 4^{to}.

^b This gradual weakening of the *external Evidence* hath in fact actually happened: and was occasioned by the Loss of several ancient Testimonies both Pagan and Christian, for the Truth of Revelation; which learned Men, on several Occasions, have frequently lamented. This is the only way, I suppose, the *external Evidence* can weaken. And therefore, I say, it is not affected by the *Scotchman's whimsical* Calculation. I call it *whimsical*, because the Calculation, tho' mathematically just, is founded on a false *Postulatum*, namely, the Decrease of the Credibility of a Fact by the Reports passing from hand to hand. Had I, on the contrary, espoused the *Postulatum*, and rejected the Calculation, I should then have called the Calculation *false*, not *whimsical*; this latter Term implying only the injudicious Application of a right thing.

acquainted with its Nature. And it is not without Occasion I take notice of it: For who, in this long Controversy between us and the Deists, hath not applied to certain late Advocates of Revelation, what was formerly said of *Arnobius* and *Lactantius*, that they undertook the Defence of Christianity before they understood it? A Misfortune, which the more careful Study of the *internal* Evidence would probably have prevented; because no one, well versed in *that*, could have continued ignorant of the Doctrine of Redemption's being of the very Essence of Christianity. Notwithstanding these superior Advantages, it hath so happened, that the *internal* Evidence hath been hitherto used as an Introduction only to the *external*: and while by this latter, Men have proved our Religion actually divine, they have gone no farther with the former, than to shew it worthy indeed of such Original.

What may have occasioned this Neglect, is not so easy to say. Perhaps it was because Writers have, in general, imagined that the Difficulties of effectually prosecuting the *internal* Method are not so easily surmounted as those in which the Writer in the *external* is engaged; while they suppose, that this latter, to be Master of his Subject, needs only the usual Requisites of Church-history, common Diligence, and Judgment: But that the Reasoner on the *internal* Proof, must, besides these, have a thorough Knowledge of Human Nature, Civil Policy, the universal History of Mankind, an exact Idea of the *Mosaic* and *Christian* Dispensations cleared from the Froth and Grounds of School-subtilties, and Church-systems; and, above all, should be blessed with a certain Sagacity, to investigate the Relations of human Actions, through all the Combinations of natural, civil, and moral Complexities. What may suggest this Opinion may be, the re-
flecting,

flecting, that, in the *external* Evidence, each Circumstance of Fact, that makes for the Truth of revealed Religion, is seen to do so, as soon as known: so that the chief Labour, here, is to search and pick out such Facts, and to place them in their proper Light and Situation; but that, in prosecuting the *internal* Evidence, the Case is widely different. A Circumstance in the Frame and Composition of this Religion, that perhaps some time or other may be discovered to be a Demonstration of its Divinity, shall be so far from being generally thought assisting in the Proof, that it shall be esteemed, by most, a Prejudice against it: as I think I have given a remarkable Instance, in the Subject of the following Treatise. And no wonder, that a Religion of divine Original, constituted to serve many admirable Ends of Providence, should be full of such complicated Mysteries, as filled the learned Apostle with Admiration. On the other hand, this Religion being for the Use of Man, we need not despair, when we have attained a proper Knowledge of Man's Nature, and the Dependencies thereon, of making still growing Discoveries, on the *internal* Evidence of the Divinity of its Original.

Now tho' all this may perhaps be true; and that, consequently, it would appear a childish Arrogance in an ordinary Writer, after having seen the Difficulties attending this Method, to hope to overcome them, by the Qualities above said to be required; yet no modest Searcher after Truth need be discouraged. For there are, in revealed Religion, besides those interior Marks of Truth, above described, which require the most delicate Operation of a great Genius and Master-workman^c to bring

^c A noble Instance of this a great Writer hath given us in the 4th *Dissertation of the Use and Intent of Prophecy, &c.* intituled *Christ's Entry into Jerusalem.*

out and polish, others also, no less illustrious, but more univocal Marks of Truth, that God hath been pleased to impress upon his Dispensations; which require no great Qualities, but Humility, and Love of Truth, in him, who would from thence attempt *to vindicate the Ways of God to Man.*

The Subject of this Discourse is one of those illustrious Marks; from which, the Discoverer claims no Merit from any long, learned, or laborious Search. It is Honour enough for him that he is the first who brings it out to Observation; if he be indeed the first. For the Demonstration is so strong and beautiful, and, at the same time, appears to be so easy and simple, that one cannot tell whether the Pleasure of the Discovery, or the Wonder that it is now to make, be the greater.

The Title of this Discourse tells my Reader, that I undertake to prove the Divine Legation of *Moses*, from the Omission of the Doctrine of a future State of Rewards and Punishments, in the Laws and Religion he delivered to the *Jewish* People. In which I pretend to carry the *internal* Evidence much farther than usual; even to the Height of which it is capable, Demonstration.

Why I chuse to make the Defence of *Moses* the Subject of this Discourse, is the observing a Notion to have spread very much of late, even amongst many who would be thought *Christians*, that the Truth of Christianity is independent of the *Jewish* Dispensation: A Notion, that was, 'till now, peculiar to the *Socinians*; who go so far as to maintain^d, *that the Knowledge of the Old Testament is not absolutely necessary for Christians*: And,

^d *Cuper*, advers. Tract. Theol. Polic. lib. 1.

that those who profess to think more soberly, are generally gone into an Opinion that the Truth of the *Jewish* Religion is impossible to be proved but upon the Truth of the *Christian*. As to the first sort of People, if they really imagine Christianity hath no Dependence on Judaism, they deserve our Compassion, as being plainly ignorant of the very Elements of the Religion they profess; however suitable the Opinion may be to a modern fashionable Notion, that *Christianity is only the Republication of the Religion of Nature*. As for the *other*, it is reasonable to think, they fell into the Mistake from a View of Difficulties, in the *Jewish* Dispensation, they judged too weighty to be removed. I may pretend then to their Thanks, if I succeed, by coming so seasonably to their Relief; and freeing their Reasonings from a vicious Circle, that would first prove the *Christian* by the *Jewish*; and then the *Jewish*, by the *Christian* Religion.

Why I chuse this Medium, namely, *the Omission of a future State in the Jewish Dispensation*, to prove its divine Original, is, *First*, for the sake of the DEISTS: being enabled hereby to shew them, 1. That this very Circumstance of Omission, which they pretend to be such an Imperfection, as makes the Dispensation unworthy the Author to whom we ascribe it, is, in truth, a Demonstration that God only could give it. 2. That those several momentous Passages of Scripture, which they charge with Obscurity, Injustice, and Contradiction, are, indeed, full of Light, Equity, and Agreement. 3. That their high Notions of the Antiquity of the Religion, and Learning of the *Ægyptians*, which they incessantly produce, as *their Palmary Argument*, to confront and overturn the History of *Moses*, do, in an invincible manner, confirm and support it.

Secondly,

Secondly, for the sake of the JEWS. The Nature of the Theocracy here delivered, and the Omission of the Doctrine of a future State in that Dispensation, evidently proving that they were to look for a more perfect Revelation of God's Will.

In this Demonstration, then, which we suppose very little short of mathematical Certainty, and to which nothing, but a mere physical Possibility of the contrary, can be opposed, we demand only this single *Postulatum*, that hath all the Clearness of Self-evidence; namely,

“ That a skilful Lawgiver, establishing a Religion, and Civil Policy, acts with certain Views, and for certain Ends; and not capriciously, or without Purpose or Design.”

This being granted, we erect our Demonstration on these three very clear and simple Propositions:

1. “ THAT THE INCULCATING THE DOCTRINE OF A FUTURE STATE OF REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, IS NECESSARY TO THE WELL BEING OF CIVIL SOCIETY.

2. “ THAT ALL MANKIND, ESPECIALLY THE MOST WISE AND LEARNED NATIONS OF ANTIQUITY, HAVE CONCURRED IN BELIEVING AND TEACHING, THAT THIS DOCTRINE WAS OF SUCH USE TO CIVIL SOCIETY.

3. “ THAT THE DOCTRINE OF A FUTURE STATE OF REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS IS NOT TO BE FOUND IN, NOR DID MAKE PART OF THE MOSAIC DISPENSATION.

Propositions so clear and evident, that one would think, we might directly proceed to those Mediums by which we deduce our Conclusion,

THAT THEREFORE THE LAW OF MOSES IS OF
DIVINE ORIGINAL.

But so great is Man's Love to *Paradox* and *System*, that these, with all their Evidence, have need of a very particular Defence; the Infidel having disputed the former, and many *Christian* Writers thought necessary to deny the latter. These Passions however different with regard to the Objects that excite them, and to the Subjects in which they are found, have this in common, that they never rise but on the Ruins of Reason. The Business of the Religionist being to establish, if his Understanding be narrowed, he contracts himself into *System*: and that of the Infidel, to overturn; if his Will be depraved, he, as naturally, runs out into *Paradoxes*. Slavish, or licentious Thinking, the two Extremes of free Enquiry, shuts them up from, or makes them fly out beyond, all reasonable Views and Limits. And as Extremes fall easily into one another, we sometimes see the opposite Writers change Hands: the Infidel, to shew something like Coherence in his Extravagancies, represents them as the several Parts of a *System*; and the Religionist, to give a Relish to his System, powders it with *Paradoxes*: In which Arts two late *Hibernians*^e, the Heroes of their several Parties, were very notably practised and distinguished.

In removing those, of either kind, that lie in our Way, we shall be obliged to stretch our Enquiries high and wide. But this, always, with an Eye to the Direction of our great Master of Reason^f, *To endeavour, throughout the Body of this Discourse, that every former Part may give Strength unto all that follow, and every latter bring some Light unto all before.*

^e See the Discourse called *Nazareus*. — *An Epistolary Discourse concerning the Immortality of the Soul*. — *Dissertationes Cyprianicæ*, &c.
^f *Hooker*.

S E C T. II.

OUR first Proposition, THAT THE INCULCATING THE DOCTRINE OF A FUTURE STATE OF REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS IS NECESSARY TO THE WELL BEING OF CIVIL SOCIETY, I shall endeavour to prove, from the Nature of Man, and the Genius of Civil Society.

The Appetite of Self-preservation being most indispensably necessary to every Animal, Nature hath made it the strongest of all. And though, in rational Animals, Reason alone might be supposed sufficient to answer the End, for which this Appetite is bestowed on others, yet, the better to secure that End, Nature hath given Man, likewise, a very considerable Share of the same Instinct, with which she hath endowed Brutes so admirably to provide for their Preservation. Now whether it was some *plastic Nature* that was here in Fault, which the great *Bacon* says, *knows not how to keep a mean*^s, or, that it was all owing to the perverse use of human Liberty, certain it is, that, borne away with the Lust of gratifying this Appetite, Man, in a State of Nature, soon ran into very violent Excesses; and never thought he had sufficiently provided for his own Being, till he had deprived his Fellows of the free Enjoyment of theirs. Hence, all those Evils of mutual Violence, Rapine, and Slaughter, that, in a State of Nature, must needs abound amongst equals. Because, tho' Man, in this State, was not without a Law, which exacted Punishment on evil Doers, yet, the Administration of that Law not being in common Hands, but either in the Person offended, or else

^s Modum tenere nescia est. *Aug. Scien.*

in the Hands of every one, as the Offence was against Mankind in general, it would be irregularly executed. And very often, where both these Executors of the Law of Nature were disposed to be impartial and exact in the Administration of Justice, they would yet want Power to enforce it. Which together, would so much inflame the Evils above mentioned; that they would soon become as general, and as intolerable, as the *Hobbeists* represent them in that State to be, were it not for the restraining Principle of RELIGION, that kept Men from running, altogether, into the Confusion necessarily consequent on the Principle of inordinate Self-love. But yet Religion could not operate with sufficient Efficacy, for want, as we observed before, of a common Arbiter, who had Impartiality enough fairly to apply the Rule of Right, and Power to enforce its Operations. So that *these two Principles* were in endless Jar; in which, Justice generally came by the worst. It was therefore found necessary to call in the CIVIL MAGISTRATE, as the Ally of *Religion*, to turn the Balance.

Thus was *Society* invented for a Remedy against Injustice; and a *Magistrate*, by mutual Consent, appointed, to give a Sanction “to that common Measure, to which, Reason teaches us, that Creatures of the same Rank and Species, promiscuously born to the same Advantages of Nature and to the Use of the same Faculties, have all an equal Right^h.” Where it is to be observed, that though Society provides for all those Conveniences and Accommodations of a more elegant Life, which Man must have been content to have done without, in a State of Nature; yet it is more than probable, that these were never thought of

^h Locke.

when Society was first institutedⁱ; but that they were the mutual Violences and Injustices, at length become intolerable, that set Men upon contriving this salutary Remedy: Because Evil felt hath a much stronger Influence on the Mind than Good imagined; and the Means of removing the one is much easier discovered, than the Way to procure the other. And this, by the wise Disposition of Nature; the avoiding Evil being necessary to our Existence; not so, the procuring Pleasure. Besides, the Idea of those unexperienced Conveniences would be, at best, very obscure: and how unable Men would be, before trial, to judge that Society could bestow them, we may guess by observing, how little, even now, the generality of Men, who enjoy those Blessings, know or reflect that they are owing to Society, or how it procures them; because it doth it neither immediately nor directly. But they would have a very lively Sense of Evils felt; and would know that Society was the Remedy, because the very Definition of the Word would teach them how it becomes so.

This is farther seen from fact. For we find those savage Nations^k, which happen to live peaceably out of Society, have never once entertained a Thought of coming into it, though they perceive all the Ad-

ⁱ Though the judicious *Hooker* thinks those Advantages were principally intended when Man first entered into Society: *This was the Cause*, says he, *of Mens uniting themselves at first into Politique Societies.* *Eccl. Pol.* l. i. § 10. His Master *Aristotle*, though extremely concise, seems to hint, that this was but the secondary End of Civil Society, and that That was the first, which we make to be so. His Words are: *γινωσκύν μὲν ὅτι τῶν ἐν ἐνέκῃ, ὅσα δὲ τῶν ὅτι τῶν.* *Pol.* lib. i. cap. 2.

^k See p. 73, 74. Where we have shewn, how it might happen that Men, in a State of Nature, should live together in Peace: though we have here given the Reasons why (as we see in fact) they very rarely do.

vantages of that improved Condition, in their civilized Neighbours, round about them.

Civil Society thus established, from this Time, as the Poet says,

abstistere Bello,
Oppida cæperunt munire, & ponere Leges,
Ne quis Fur esset, neu Latro, neu quis Adulter.

But as before, RELIGION alone was an ineffectual Remedy to moral Disorders; so now, SOCIETY, without other Assistance, would be equally insufficient.

I. 1. For *first*, its Laws can have no farther Efficacy than to restrain Men from an open Violation of Right, while what is done amiss in private, though equally tending to the public Prejudice, escapes their Animadversion; and Man, since his entering into Society, would have greatly improved his Malice in the secret way of working. For now an effectual Security being provided against *open Violence*, and the inordinate Principle of Self-love being still the same, *secret Craft* was the Art to be improved; and the Guards of Society inviting Men to a careless Security, what Advantages this would afford to those private Mischiefs which Civil Laws could not take notice of, is not difficult to conceive.

2. But, *secondly*, the Influence of Civil Laws cannot, in all Cases, be extended even thus far, namely, to the restraining an *open* Violation of Right. It cannot *then*, when the severe Prohibition of one Irregularity threatens the bringing on a greater: And this will always be the Case when the Irregularity is owing to the Intemperance of the natural Passions. Hence it hath come to pass, that no great and flourishing State could ever punish *Fornication*, in such a manner as its ill Influence on Society was confessed to deserve. Because

it

it was always found, that a severe Restraint of this opened the Way to unnatural Lusts.

3. But this was not all, there was a farther Inefficacy in human Laws: The Legislature, in enquiring into the mutual Duties of Citizens, arising from their Equality of Condition, found those Duties to be of two Sorts: The first, they intituled the Duties of PERFECT OBLIGATION; because Civil Laws could readily, and commodiously, and were, of necessity, required to enforce their Observance. The other they called the Duties of IMPERFECT OBLIGATION; not, that Morality does not as strongly exact them, but because Civil Laws could not conveniently take notice of them; and, that they were supposed not so immediately and vitally to affect the Being of Society. Of this latter Kind are *Gratitude, Hospitality, Charity, &c.* Concerning such, Civil Laws, for these Reasons, are generally silent. And yet, though it may be true, that these Duties, which human Laws thus overlook, may not so directly affect Society, it is very certain, that their Violation brings as fatal, though not so swift Destruction upon it, as that of the Duties of *perfect Obligation*. A very competent Judge, and who too speaks the Sentiment of Antiquity in this Matter, hath not scrupled to say: “*Ut scias per se ex-*
“*petendam esse grati Animi Adfectionem, per se fu-*
“*gienda res est ingratum esse: quoniam nihil æque*
“*concordiam humani generis diffociat ac distrahit*
“*quam hoc vitium* ^k.”

4. But farther, besides these Duties both of *perfect* and *imperfect Obligation*, for the encouraging and enforcing of which Civil Society was invented, Society itself begot and produced a new Set of Duties, which are, to speak in the Mode of the

^k *Seneca de Benef. lib. iv. cap. 18.*

Legislature, of *imperfect Obligation*, unknown to the State of Nature: the first and principal of which is that antiquated forgotten Virtue called the LOVE OF OUR COUNTRY.

5. But *lastly*, Society not only introduced a new Set of Duties, but likewise increased and inflamed, to an infinite Degree, those inordinate Appetites, for whose Correction it was invented and introduced: like some kind of powerful Medicines, that, at the very Time they are working a Cure, heighten the Malignity of the Disease. For our Wants increase, in proportion as the Arts of Life advance and grow perfect. But in proportion to our Wants, so is our Uneasiness; — to our Uneasiness, so our Endeavours to remove it — to our Endeavours, so the Weakness of *human Restraint*. Hence it is evident, that in a State of Nature, where little is consulted but the Support of our Existence, our Wants must be few, and our Appetites, in proportion, weak; and that in Civil Society, where the Arts of Life are cultivated, our Wants must be many, and our Appetites, in Proportion strong.

II. Thus far concerning the Imperfection of Civil Society, with regard to the Administration of that Power which it hath, namely of *punishing* the Disobedient. We shall next consider its much greater Imperfection with regard to that Power which it wanteth, namely of *rewarding* the Obedient.

The two great Sanctions of all Law and Command are Reward for Observance, and Punishment for Transgression. These are generally called the two Hinges, on which all Kinds of Government turn. And so far is certain and apparent to the common Sense of Mankind, that whatever Laws are not enforced by both these Sanctions, will

will never be observed in any degree sufficient to carry on the Ends of Society.

Yet, I shall now shew, from the Nature and original Constitution of Civil Government, that, *Society* neither had, nor could enforce, the SANCTION OF REWARD.

But, for avoiding Mistakes, I desire it may be observed, that, by *Reward*, must needs here be meant, *that which is conferred on every one for obeying the Laws of his Country*; not *that* which is bestowed on particulars, for any eminent Service: as by *Punishment* we understand *that which is inflicted on every one for transgressing the Laws*; not *that* which is imposed on particulars, for neglecting to do all the Service in their Power.

I make no doubt but this will be looked upon as a violent Paradox; nothing being more common in the Mouths of Politicians^m, than *that the Sanctions of Reward and Punishment are the two Pillars of Civil Government*; and all the *Utopias*, and speculative Systems of Politics, both ancient and modern, deriving the whole Vigour of their Laws from these two Sources. I shall therefore beg leave to be something particular in the Proof of the two following Propositions:

I. That, by the *original Constitution* of civil Government, the Sanction of Rewards *was not* enforced.

II. That by the *Nature* of Civil Government they *could not* be enforced by it.

The first Proposition I prove thus. In entering into Society, it was stipulated, between the Governor and Governed, that *Protection* and *Obedience* should be

^m Neque solùm ut *Solonis* dictum usurpem, qui & sapientissimus fuit ex septem, & Legum Scriptor solus ex septem. Is *republicam* duabus rebus contineri dixit, præmio & pœnâ. Cic. ad Brutum Ep. 15.

the reciprocal Conditions of each other. When, therefore, a Citizen obeys the Laws, that Debt, on Society, is discharged by the Protection it affordeth him. But, in respect to Disobedience, the Proceeding is not analogous; though Protection, as the Condition of Obedience, implies the withdrawing of it, for Disobedience; — and for these Reasons: The Effect of withdrawing Protection must be either Expulsion from the Society, or the exposing the Offender to all kind of Licence, from others, in it. Society could not practise the first, without bringing the Body Politic into a Consumption; nor the latter, without throwing it into Convulsions. Besides, the first is no Punishment at all, but by Accident; it being only the leaving one Society to enter into another: and the second is an inadequate Punishment; for though all Obedience be the same, and so *uniform Protection* a proper Return for it, yet Disobedience being of various Kinds and Degrees, the thus withdrawing Protection would be too great a Punishment for some Crimes, and too small for others.

This being so, it was stipulated that the Violator of the Laws of the Society should be subject to pecuniary Mulcts, Mutilation of Members, proper and capital Inflictions. Hence arose the Sanction, and *only Sanction* of Civil Laws: for, that Protection is no Reward, in the Sense that these are Punishments, is plain from hence, that the one is of the Essence of Society itself, the other an arbitrary adventitious Adjunct. But this will farther appear by considering the Opposite to Protection, which is *Expulsion*, or Banishment; for this is the *natural* Consequence of withdrawing Protection. Now this, as we said, is no Punishment but by Accident: and so the State understood it; as we may collect, even from their Manner of employing

ploying it *as a Punishment* on Offenders: For Banishment is of universal Use, with other Punishments, in all Societies. Now where the thus withdrawing Protection is inflicted as a Punishment, all States have agreed, in Practice, to retain their Right to Obedience from the banished Member; though, according to the Nature of the Thing considered alone, that Right be really discharged; Obedience and Protection, as we observed, being the reciprocal Conditions of each other. But it was necessary all States should act thus when they inflicted Exile as a Punishment, it being no Punishment but by Accident, when the Claim to Subjection was remitted with it. They had a *Right* to act thus; as it was inflicted on an *Offender*, who by his very Offence had forfeited all Claim of Advantage from that *reciprocal Condition*ⁿ.

II. The second Proposition is, that *by the Nature of Civil Government the Sanction of Rewards could not be enforced by it*: My Reason is, because Society could neither distinguish the Objects of its Favour, nor reward them, though they were distinguished.

I. First, *Society could not distinguish the Objects of its Favour*. To inflict Punishment, there is no need of knowing the Motives whereon the Transgressor acted; but judicially to confer Reward on the Obedient there is.

ⁿ This will help us to determine an embarrassed Question long debated amongst the Writers on the Law of Nature and Nations; namely, *Whether a banish'd Man be a Subject of the State that expelled him?* *Hobbes* and *Pufendorf* hold the Negative; and *Tully*, with that best of Men and of Writers, the Lord Chancellor *Hyde*, the Affirmative. The former give this in support of their Opinion, that, by the very Act of Expulsion, the State gives up and disclaims all Right of Subjection: the latter only appeal to the Practice of Societies; and the Reason of that Practice as here given, absolutely determines the Question in their Favour.

All that Civil Judicatures do, in Condemnation to Punishment, is to find out whether the Misdeed was *wilfully* committed. They enquire not into the Intention or Motives any farther, or otherwise than as they are the Indications of *a voluntary Act*: and having found it so, they concern themselves no more with the Man's Motives or Principles of acting, but punish, without scruple, in confidence of the Offender's Demerit. And this with very good Reason; because no one of *a sound Mind*, can be ignorant of the principal Offences against Right, or of their Malignity, but by some sottish Negligence that hath hindered his Information, or some brutal Passion that hath prejudiced his Judgment; both which are highly faulty, and deserve Civil Punishment.

It is otherwise in rewarding the abstaining from Transgression. Here the Motive must be considered: because as *merely doing Ill* deserves Punishment, a Crime in the Case of wrong Judgment being ever necessarily inferred; so *merely abstaining from Ill* cannot for that very Reason have any Merit.

In *judicially rewarding*, therefore, the *Motives* must be known; but human Judicatures cannot know them but by Accident: It is only that Tribunal, which searches the Heart, that can penetrate thus far. We conclude therefore, *that Reward cannot, properly, be the Sanction of human Laws.*

If it should be said, that though Rewards cannot be equitably administred, as Punishments may, yet, what hinders but that, for the Good of Society, all who observe the Laws be rewarded, as all who transgress them are punished? The Answer will lead us to the Proof of the second Part of this Proposition.

2. That

2. That Society could not reward, tho' it should discover the Objects of its Favour; the Reason is, because no Society can ever find a Fund sufficient for that Purpose, without raising it on the People as a Tax, to pay it back to them as a Reward.

But the universal Practice of Society confirms our Reasoning, and is explained by it; the Sanction of *Punishments* having, in all Ages and Places, been solely employed to secure the Observance of Civil Laws. This was so remarkable a Fact, that it could not escape the notice of a certain admirable Wit and studious Observer of Men and Manners; who speaks of it as an universal Defect: *Although we usually (says he) call Reward and Punishment the two Hinges, upon which all Government turns, yet I could never observe this Maxim to be put in Practice by any Nation except that of Lilliput^o.* Thus he introduceth an Account of the Laws and Customs of an *Utopian* Constitution of his own framing; and for that matter, perhaps, as good as any of the rest: and, had he intended it as a Satire against such chimerical Commonwealths, nothing could have been more just. For all these political Romancers, from *Plato* to this Author, make Civil Rewards and Punishments *the two Hinges of Government*.

I have often wondered what it was, that should lead them from Fact, and universal Practice, in so fundamental a Point. But without doubt it was this, the Design of such sort of Writings is to give a perfect Pattern of Civil Government; and to supply the fancied Defects in actual Societies. The End of Government coming first under consideration; and the general Practice of Society seeming to declare this End to be only, what it really is,

^o *Gulliver's Travels*, vol. i. p. 97.

Security to the temporal Liberty and Property of Man; the Simplicity of it displeased, and the Plan appeared defective. They imagined, that, by enlarging the Bottom, they should ennoble the Structure; and, therefore, formed a romantic Project of making Civil Society serve for all the good Purposes it was even accidentally capable of producing. And thus, instead of giving us a true Picture of Government, they jumbled together all sorts of Societies into one; and confounded the *Religious*, the *Literary*, the *Mercantile*, the *Convivial*, with the *Civil*. Whoever reads them carefully, if indeed they be worth reading carefully, will find that the Errors they abound in are all of this Nature; and that they arise from the losing, or never having had a true Idea of the simple Plan of Civil Society: a Circumstance which, as we have shewn elsewhere^p, hath occasioned many wrong Judgments concerning it. No wonder, then, that this Mistake concerning the *End* of Civil Society, drew after it others, concerning the *Means*; and this, amongst the rest, that *Reward was one of the Sanctions of human Laws*.

On the whole then, it appears, that Civil Society, hath not, in itself, the *Sanction of Rewards*, to secure the Observance of its Laws. So true, in this Sense, is it, what St. *Paul* divinely observes, that THE LAW WAS NOT MADE FOR THE RIGHTEOUS, BUT FOR THE UNRULY AND DISOBEDIENT.

But it being evident, that the joint Sanctions of Rewards and Punishments are but just sufficient to secure the tolerable Observance of Right (the common false Opinion, that these are the two Hinges of Government arising from that Evidence) it follows, that, AS RELIGION ONLY CAN SUPPLY THE SANCTION OF REWARDS, WHICH

^p See *The Alliance between Church and State*.

SOCIETY WANTS, AND HATH NOT ; RELIGION IS ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY TO CIVIL GOVERNMENT.

Thus, on the whole we see, I. That Society, by its own proper Power, cannot provide for the Observance of above one third Part of moral Duties ; and of that third but imperfectly. We see likewise, how, by the peculiar Influence of its Nature, it enlarges the Duty of the Citizen, at the same time that it lessens his natural Ability of performing.

II. We see farther, which is a thing of far greater Importance, that Society totally wants one of those two Powers which are owned by all to be the necessary Hinges on which Government turns, and without which it cannot be supported.

To supply these Wants and Imperfections, some other coercive Power must be added, that hath its Influence on the Mind of Man ; to keep Society from running back into Confusion. But there is no other than the Power of RELIGION ; which teaching an over-ruling Providence, the Rewarder of good Men and the Punisher of ill, can oblige to the Duties of *imperfect Obligation*, which human Laws overlook ; and teaching also, that this Providence is omniscient, that it sees the most secret Actions and Intentions of Men, and hath given Laws for the perfecting their Nature, will oblige to those Duties of *perfect Obligation*, which human Laws cannot reach, or sufficiently enforce.

Thus we have explained in general, the mutual Aid *Religion* and *Civil Policy* lend to one another : not unlike that which two Allies, in the same Quarrel, may reciprocally receive against a common Enemy : While one Party is closely pressed, the other comes up to its Relief ; disengages the first ; gives it time to rally, and repair its Force : By this time the assisting Party is pushed in its turn,

turn, and needs the Aid of that which it relieved ; which is now at hand to repay the Obligation. From henceforth the two Parties ever act in Conjunction ; and, by that means, keep the common Enemy at a stand.

Having thus proved the Service of Religion in general, to Society ; and shewn by what Influence it is performed, we are enabled to proceed to the Proof of the main Proposition in question : For by what hath been said, it appears that Religion does this Service solely, *as it teaches a Providence, the Rewarder of good Men, and the Punisher of Ill* : So that, though it were possible, as I think it is not^a, that there could be such a thing as a Religion not founded on the Doctrine of a Providence ; yet, it is evident, such a Religion could be of no manner of Service to Society. Whatsoever therefore is necessary for the Support of this Doctrine is mediately necessary for the well-being of Society. That the Doctrine of a Future State of Rewards and Punishments is absolutely and indispensably necessary for the Support of the general Doctrine of Providence, under its present Dispensations in this Life, I shall now shew.

Religion establishing a Providence, the Rewarder of Virtue, and the Punisher of Vice, Men naturally expect to find the constant and invariable Marks of its Superintendency. But the History of Mankind, nay even of every one's own Neighbourhood, would soon inform the most indiligent Observer, that the Affairs of Men wear a Form of great Irregularity : the Scene, that ever and anon presents itself, being of distressed Virtue, and prosperous

^a St. Paul supposes there can no more be a Religion without a Providence, than without a God : *He that cometh to God, must believe that he is, and that he is a Rewarder of them that diligently seek him.*

Wickedness;

Wickedness; which unavoidably brings the embarrassed Religionist to the Necessity of giving up his Belief, or finding out the Solution of these untoward Appearances. His first Reflexion might perhaps be with the Poet^r:

Omnia rebar

*Consilio firmata Dei; qui lege moveri
Sidera, qui fruges diverso tempore nasci, —
Sed cum res hominum tanta caligine volvi,
Adspicerem, letosque diu florere nocentes,
Vexarique pios, rursus labefacta CADEBAT
RELLIGIO.*

But on second Thoughts, Reason, that taught him, from the admirable Frame and Harmony of the material Universe, that there must needs be a superintending Providence, to influence that Order which all its Parts preserve in their continued Revolutions, would soon instruct him in the Absurdity of supposing, that the same Care did not extend to Man, a Creature of a far nobler Nature than the most considerable of inanimate Beings. And therefore human Affairs not being dispensed, at present, agreeably to that Superintendence, he must conclude, that Man shall exist after Death, to be brought to a future Reckoning in another Life, where all Accounts will be set even, and all the present Obscurities and Perplexities in the Ways of Providence unfolded and explained. From hence Religion acquires irresistible Force and Splendor; and rises on a solid and unshaken Basis^s.

^r *Claud.* ^s Hear an unexceptionable Evidence to this whole matter: *Et quidem* (says the Free-thinking Lord Herbert) *præmium bonis, & supplicium malis, vel hac in vita, vel post hanc vitam dari, statuebant Gentiles. — Nihil magis congruum Naturæ divinæ esse docuerant, tum Philosophorum tum Theologo-*

“ Good requires, even to chuse it, would be no
 “ more. Nor on such Principles should we ha-
 “ zard Life for a Friend: on the contrary, we
 “ should commit any Wickedness rather than un-
 “ dergo the Loss of it: which is contrary to what
 “ *Aristotle* teaches in his *Ethics*.” His Reply to
 this, in the following Chapter, is that *Virtue re-*
quires we should die for our Country or our Friends;
and that Virtue is never so perfect as when it brings
no Dower with it: But then he subjoins, “ Philoso-
 “ phers, and the Learned, only know what Plea-
 “ sures the Practice of Virtue can procure; and
 “ what Misery attends Ignorance and Vice: — but
 “ Men not understanding the Excellence of Virtue,
 “ and Deformity of Vice, would commit any Wick-
 “ edness rather than submit to Death: to bridle
 “ therefore their unruly Appetites, they were
 “ taught to be influenced by Hope of Reward, and
 “ Fear of Punishment.” This is enough to shew
 what *Pomponatius* thought of the Necessity of Reli-
 gion to the State. He gives up so much of the
 Objection as urges the ill Consequence, of the Do-
 ctrine of the Mortality, on Mankind in general;
 but in so doing doth not betray the Cause he un-
 dertakes: which is, to prove that the Belief of
 the Mortality of the Soul would have no ill In-

v Secundò, quia stante animi humani mortalitate, homo in nullo
 casu, quantumcunque urgentissimo, deberet eligere mortem: &
 sic removeretur fortitudo, quæ præcipit contemnere mortem, &
 quod pro patria & bono publico debemus mortem eligere: neque
 pro amico deberemus exponere animam nostram; imo quodcun-
 que scelus & nefas perpetrare magis quàm mortem subire: quod
 est contra Arist. 3 Ethic. & 9 ejusdem, p. 99.

w Soli enim philosophi & studiosi, ut dicit Arist. 6 Ethic. sciunt
 quantam delectationem generent virtutes, & quantam miseriam
 ignorantia & vitia. — Sed quod homines non cognoscentes excel-
 lentiam virtutis & sceditatem vitii, omne scelus perpetrarent, pri-
 usquam mori: quare ad refrænandum diras hominum cupiditates,
 data est spes præmii & timor punitionis, p. 119.

fluence

fluence on the Practice of a learned Peripatetic : not that it would have no ill Influence, on the gross body of Mankind, to the Prejudice of Society. This appears from the Nature and Design of the Treatise ; wrote entirely on Peripatetic Principles, to explain a Point in that Philosophy : by which Explanation, whoever was persuaded of the Mortality of the Soul, must give his Assent on those Principles ; but those were only fitted for learned Men. It was his Business therefore to examine, what Effects this Belief would have on such, and on such only. And this, it must be owned, he hath done with Dexterity enough. But that this Belief would be most pernicious to the Body of Mankind in general, he confesses with the utmost Ingenuity. And as his own Words are the fullest Proof imaginable, that he thought with the rest of the World, concerning the Influence of Religion, and particularly of the Doctrine of a future State of Rewards and Punishments, on Society, I shall beg leave to transcribe them at length. “ There are some Men “ of so ingenuous and well framed a Nature, that “ they are brought to the Practice of Virtue from “ the sole Consideration of its Dignity ; and are kept “ from Vice on the bare Prospect of its Baseness : “ but such excellent Persons are very rare. Others “ there are of a somewhat less heroic Turn of Mind ; “ and these, besides the Dignity of Virtue, and the “ Baseness of Vice, are worked upon by Fame “ and Honours, by Infamy and Disgrace, to shun “ Evil and persevere in Good : These are of the “ second Class of Men. Others again are kept in “ order by the Hope of some real Benefit, or the “ Dread of corporal Punishment ; wherefore that “ such may follow Virtue, the Politician hath al- “ lured them by Dignities, Possessions, and Things “ of the like Nature ; and hath inflicted Mulcts, “ Degra-

“ Degradations, Mutilations, and Capital Punish-
 “ ments, to deter them from Wickedness. There
 “ are yet others of so intractable and perverse a
 “ Spirit, that nothing of this can move them, as
 “ daily Experience shews us; for these, therefore,
 “ it was, that the Politician contrived *the Doctrine*
 “ *of a future State*; where eternal Rewards are re-
 “ served for the Virtuous, and eternal Punish-
 “ ments, which have the more powerful Influence
 “ of the two, for the Wicked. For the greater part
 “ of those who live well, do so, rather for Fear of
 “ the Punishment, than out of Appetite to the
 “ Reward; for Misery is better known to Man,
 “ than that immeasurable Good which Religion
 “ promiseth: And therefore as this last Contri-
 “ vance may be directed to promote the Welfare
 “ of Men of all Conditions and Degrees, the Le-
 “ gislator, intent upon public Good, and seeing a
 “ general Propensity to Evil, established the Do-
 “ ctrine of the Immortality of the Soul. Little
 “ solicitous for Truth, in all this, but intent only
 “ on Utility, that he might draw Mankind to
 “ Virtue. Nor is he to be blamed: for as the
 “ Physician deludes his Patient in order to restore
 “ his Health, so the Lawgiver invents Apologues
 “ to form the Manners of his People. Indeed
 “ were all of that noble turn of Mind with those
 “ enumerated under the first Class, then would
 “ they all, even on the Supposition of the Soul’s
 “ Mortality, exactly perform to one another the
 “ Devoirs of Citizens. *But as there are, upon the*
 “ *matter, none of this Disposition*, he must, of necessity,
 “ have recourse to other Arts *.”

* Aliqui sunt homines ingenui, & bene institutæ naturæ, adeo
 quod ad virtutem inducuntur ex sola virtutis nobilitate, & a vitio
 retrahuntur ex sola ejus scditate: & hi optimè dispositi sunt, li-
 cet perpauca sunt. Aliqui vero sunt minus bene dispositi; & hi

After all this, it is strangely surprizing that Mr. Bayle should so far mistake this Book, as to imagine the Author argues in it *against the Usefulness of Religion to Society*: especially, when we consider, that Mr. Bayle appears to have examined the Book so nearly as to be able to confute a common Error concerning it, namely, *that it was wrote to prove the Mortality of the Soul*: Whereas he shews, that it was wrote only to prove, that, on the Principles of *Aristotle*, neither that, nor the contrary, could be demonstrated. But let us hear him: “That
 “ which *Pomponatius* hath replied to the Reasoning
 “ borrowed from hence that the Doctrine of the
 “ Mortality of the Soul would invite Men to all
 “ sort of Crimes, deserves to be considered.” And

præter nobilitatem virtutis, & foeditatem vitii, ex præmiis, laudibus, & honoribus; ex pœnis, vituperiis, & infamia, studiosa operantur, & vitia fugiunt; & hi in secundo gradu sunt. Aliqui vero propter spem alicujus boni, & timore pœnæ corporalis studiosi efficiuntur: quare, ut tales virtutem consequantur, statuunt politici vel aurum, vel dignitatem, vel aliquid tale; ut vitia vero fugiant, statuunt vel in pecunia, vel in honore, vel in corpore, seu mutilando membrum, seu occidendo puniri. Quidam vero ex ferocitate & perversitate naturæ, nullo horum moventur, ut quotidiana docet experientia; ideo posuerunt virtuosus in alia vita præmia æterna, vitiosis vero æterna damna, quæ maximè terrent: majorque pars hominum, si bonum operatur, magis ex metu æterni damni quam spe æterni boni operatur bonum, cum damna sunt magis nobis cognita quam illa bona æterna: & quoniam hoc ultimum ingenium omnibus hominibus potest prodesse, cujuscunque gradus sint, respiciens Legislatores pronitatem viarum ad malum, intendens communi bono, sanxit animam esse immortalem, non curans de veritate, sed tantum de probitate, ut inducat homines ad virtutem. Neque accusandus est politicus: sicut namque medicus multa fingit, ut ægro sanitatem restituat; sic politicus Apologos format, ut cives rectificet. — Si omnes homines essent in illo primo gradu enumerato, stante etiam animorum mortalitate, studiosi fierent; sed quasi nulli sunt illius dispositionis; quare aliis ingeniis incedere necesse fuit, —
 pag. 123, 124, 125.

! Ce que Pomponace a repondu à la raison empruntée de ce
 then

then he produces those Arguments of *Pomponatius*, which we have given above, of the natural Excellence of Virtue, and Deformity of Vice; that Happiness consists in the Practice of the one, and Misery in that of the other, &c. These he calls *poor Solutions*: Indeed *poor* enough, had it been, as Mr. Bayle supposes, *Pomponatius's* Design to prove that the Doctrine of the Mortality of the Soul did not invite the generality of Men to all Sort of Wickedness: for the Account given by *Pomponatius* himself of the Origin of the Doctrine of the Immortality, shews, that, but for it, they would have run headlong into Vice. But supposing this Peripatetic's Design to be, as indeed it was, to prove that the Belief of the Mortality would have no ill Influence on the learned Followers of *Aristotle*, then these Arguments, which Mr. Bayle calls *poor ones*, will be found to have their Weight. But he goes on, and says, that *Pomponatius* brings a better Argument from Fact, where he takes notice of several, who denied the Immortality of the Soul, and yet lived as well as their believing Neighbours. This is indeed a good Argument to the Purpose, for which it is employed by *Pomponatius*; but whether it be so to that, for which, Mr. Bayle imagined, he employed it, shall be considered hereafter, when we come to meet with it again amongst this Writer's Reasonings, who hath transferred it into his Apology for Atheism. But Mr. Bayle was so full of his own favourite Question, that he did not give a due Attention to *Pomponatius's*; and having, as I observed above, refuted a vulgar Error with regard to this famous Tract, and imagining that the Impiety, so generally charged on it, was solely founded in that Error, he

que le dogme de la mortalité de l'ame porteroit les hommes à toutes sortes de crimes, est digne de consideration. *Dict. Hist. & Crit. Art.* (Pomponace) Rem. (H.)

goes

goes on insulting the Enemies of *Pomponatius* in this manner: “ If the Charge of Impiety, of which
 “ *Pomponatius* hath been accused, was only founded
 “ on his Book *Of the Immortality of the Soul*, we must
 “ needs say there was never any Accusation more
 “ impertinent or a stronger Instance of the iniqui-
 “ tous Perversity of the Persecutors of the Philo-
 “ sophers^z.” But *Pomponatius* won’t be so easily
 set clear: For let him think as he would concerning
 the Soul, yet the Account he gives of the Origin
 of Religion, as the Contrivance of Statesmen, pro-
 duced above from this very Tract *De Immortalitate*
Animæ, is so highly impious, that his Enemies will
 be scarce persuaded to give it a softer Name than
 downright Atheism. Nor is it Impiety in general,
 that we endeavour to acquit him of, in these Re-
 marks, but only of that Species of it, which teaches
Religion to be useless to Society. And this we think
 we have done; although it be by shewing him to
 have run into the opposite Extreme, which pretends
Religion to be the Creature of Politicks.

Cardan comes next to be considered: and him
 no one hath injured. He, too, is under *Bayle’s*
 Delusion, concerning *Pomponatius*: For, writing
 on the same Subject^a, he borrows the Peripatetic’s
 Arguments to prove that *Religion was even pernicious to Society*. This was so bold a Stroke, that
Mr. Bayle, who generally follows him pretty closely,
 yet drops him here: Nor do I know that he ever
 had a Second, except it was the unhappy Philo-
 sopher of *Malmsbury*; who scorning to argue upon
 the Matter, imperiously pronounced, that he who

^z Si l’on n’a fondé les impietez, dont on l’accuse, que sur son
 livre de l’immortalite de l’ame, il n’y eut jamais d’accusation plus
 impertinente, que celle-la, ni qui soit une marque plus expresse
 de l’entetement inique des persecuteurs des Philosophes.

^a *De Immortalitate Animorum liber*, Lugd. ap. Gryph. 1545.
 presumed

presumed to propagate Religion in a Society, was guilty of the Crime of *Lese Majesty*, as introducing a Power superior to the *Leviathan's*. But it would be unpardonable to keep the Reader much longer on this poor lunatic *Italian*, in whom, as Mr. Bayle pleasantly observes, *Sense was, at best, but an Appendix to his Folly*^b. Besides, there is little in that Tract, but what he stole from *Pomponatius*, the Conclusiveness of which, to *Cardan's* Paradox, hath been already considered; or what Mr. Bayle hath borrowed from him, the Force of which shall be examined hereafter. But that little is so peculiarly his own, that as no other can claim a Share in the Property, so no one hath hitherto usurped the Use. Which in truth tho' is remarkable: for there is no Trash so worthless, but what some Time or other finds a Place in a Free-thinker's System. We will not then despair but that this poor contemptible Rubbish may one Day have an honourable Station in some of these fashionable Fabricks. And, not to hinder its speedy Advancement, I shall here present it to the Reader, in its full Force,

^b The charming Picture he draws of himself, and which he excuses no otherwise than by laying the Fault on his Stars, will hardly prejudice any one in favour of his Opinions. How far it resembles any other of the Brotherhood, they best know, who have examined the Genius of modern Infidelity. However thus he speaks of his own amiable Turn of Mind: "In diem viventem, nugacem, religionis contemptorem, injuriæ illatæ memorem, invidum, tristem, insidiatorem, proditorem, magum, incantatorem, suorum osorem, turpi libidini deditum, solitarium, inamœnum, austerum; sponte etiam divinantem, zelytypum, obscœnum, lascivum, maledicum, varium, ancipitem, impurum, calumniatorem, &c." We have had many *Free-thinkers*, but few such *Free-speakers*. But though these sort of Writers are not used to give us so direct a Picture of themselves, yet it has been observed, that they have unawares copied from their own Tempers, in the ungracious Drawings they have made of HUMAN NATURE and RELIGION.

without

without Answer or Observation. He brings the following Argument to prove that the Doctrine of the *Immortality* of the Soul is destructive to Society :

“ From this flattering Notion of a Future State,
 “ ill Men get Opportunity to compass their wicked
 “ Schemes : and, on the same account, good Men
 “ suffer themselves to be injuriously treated. Civil
 “ Laws, relying on this fanciful Assistance, relax
 “ their necessary Severity ; And thus is the Op-
 “ nion productive of much mischief to Mankind ^c.”

And then by another Argument as good, he shews the Benefits accruing to the State from the Belief of the Soul's *Mortality* : “ Those who maintain
 “ that the Soul dies with the Body, must needs be,
 “ by their Principles, honest Men than others,
 “ because they have a peculiar Interest in preserv-
 “ ing their Reputation ; that being the only future
 “ Property they pretend to : And this Profession
 “ being generally esteemed as scandalous as that
 “ of Usury, such Men will be most exact and scru-
 “ pulous in point of Honour, as your Usurer, to
 “ keep up the Credit of his Calling, is of all Men,
 “ the most religious Observer of his Word ^d.”

S E C T. IV.

MR. BAYLE, the last Espouser of this Paradox, is of a quite different Character from these *Italian* Sophists : A Writer whose Strength and Clearness of *Reasoning* can be equalled only by the Gaiety, Easiness, and Delicacy of his *Wit* : who, pervading human Nature with a Glance, struck into the Province of *Paradox*, as an Exercise for the restless Vigour of his Mind : Who, with a

^c *De Immortalitate Animorum*, cap. ii. ejusd. Tract.

^d Cap. xxxiii.

Soul superior to the sharpest Attacks of Fortune, and a Heart practised to the best Philosophy, had not yet enough of real Greatness, to overcome that last Foible of superior Genius's, the Temptation of Honour, which the *Academick Exercise of Wit* is conceived to bring to its Professors.

A Writer of this Character will deserve a very particular Regard: For *Paradoxes*, in such hands, will always be productive of something for Use or Curiosity (as in this very Work we are about to examine^e, the many admirable Observations on the Nature and Genius of ancient Polytheism, happen to be the strongest Confutation imaginable of all that the Author of *Christianity as old as the Creation* hath advanced against the Use and Necessity of Revelation) which under the Management of a *Toland* or a *Collins*, subside into rank offensive Impiety: As a skilful Chymist, though disappointed in the vain Pursuit of his *grand Magisterium*, yet often discovers, by the way, some useful and noble Medicament; while the ignorant Pretender, in the same Enquiry, not only loses his Labour, but fills all about him with the poisonous Steams of *Sublimate*, which he knew not how to manage or subdue.

The *professed* Design of Mr. *Bayle's* Work is to enquire, *which is least hurtful to Mankind, Ancient Idolatry, or Modern Atheism*: And had he confined himself to that Subject, we had had no Concern with him, but should have left him in the Hands of Mess. *Jacquelot* and *Bernard*. I freely own they are both stark naught: All the Difference is, that Atheism directly excludes and destroys the *true*

^e Pensées diverses, écrites à un Docteur de Sorbonne à l'occasion de la Comete qui parût au Mois de Decembre, 1680. & — Continuation des Pensées diverses, &c. ou Reponse à plusieurs difficultez, &c.

Sense of moral Right and Wrong ; and Polytheism sets up a *false* Species of it.

But the more particular, though less avowed, Purpose of this elaborate Treatise is to prove, that *Atheism is not destructive of Society* ; and here he falls under our Notice ; no distinct Answer, that I know of, having been yet attempted to this Part of his Performance.

His Arguments are occasionally, and so without any Method interspersed throughout that large Work : But, to give them the utmost Advantage of Representation, I have here collected and digested them in such Order, that they mutually support, and come in to the Aid of one another.

It had been generally esteemed an Evidence of the Destructiveness of Atheism to Society, that *that Principle excludes the Knowledge of moral Good and Evil* ; such Knowledge being posterior to the Knowledge of a God. His first Argument therefore for the *Innocence of Atheism* is,

I. “ That an Atheist may have an Idea of the
 “ moral Difference between Good and Evil, because
 “ Atheists, as well as Theists, may comprehend the
 “ first Principles of Morals and Metaphysics, from
 “ which this Difference may be deduced. And in
 “ fact (he says) both the *Epicurean* Atheist, who de-
 “ nied the Providence of God, and the *Stratonic* A-
 “ theist, who denied his Being, had this Idea^f. ”

This often repeated Argument is so loosely expressed, that it is capable of many Meanings ; in some of which the Assertion is true, but not to the Purpose ; in others to the Purpose, but not true. Therefore before any precise Answer can be

^f Voyez les Pensées diverses, cap. 178. & suiv. & l'addition à ces Pensées, cap. 4. Réponse à la 10 & à la 13 Objections, & la Continuation des Pens. div. cap. 143.

given to it, it will be necessary to trace up moral Duty to its first Principles. And though this sort of Abstraction should not prove the most entertaining either to myself or Reader, by reason of the strange Confusion that a Spirit of Dispute and Refinement hath thrown over a thing, of itself, very clear and intelligible, a Confusion so great, that was *Morality* herself, of which the *Ancients* made a Goddess, to appear personally amongst Men, and be questioned concerning her Birth, I am persuaded, she would be tempted to answer as *Homer* does in *Lucian*, that her Commentators had so entangled and embarrassed the Dispute, that she was now as much at a loss as they to account for her Original: Though this Subject, I say, be not the most entertaining, it may be found however to deserve our Pains.

To proceed with all possible Brevity: Each Animal hath its *Instinct* implanted by Nature to direct it to its greatest Good. Amongst these, Man hath his; to which modern Philosophers have given the Name of

1. The *Moral Sense*: An *instinctive* Approbation of *Right* and Abhorrence of *Wrong*, prior to all Reflexion on their Natures or their Consequences. This is the first Inlet to the *adequate Idea of Morality*; and, plainly, the most extensive of all; the Atheist as well as Theist having it. When Instinct had gone thus far,

2. The *Reasoning Faculty* improved upon its Dictates: For, reflecting Men, naturally led to examine the Foundation of this *moral Sense*, soon discovered that there were real essential Differences in the Qualities of human Actions, established by Nature; and, consequently, that the Love and Hatred excited by the *Moral Sense* were not capricious in their Operations; for, that the essential Properties

of their Objects had a SPECIFIC DIFFERENCE. Reason having gone thus far, and thus far too it might conduct the *Stratonic* Atheist, it stopped; and found something was now wanting whereon to establish the *Morality*, properly so called, of Actions, that is, an *Obligation* on Men to perform some and to avoid others; and that, for this, there was need of calling in other Principles to its Assistance: Because nothing can thus *oblige* but

3. A *Superior Will*: And such a *Will* could not be found 'till the Being and Attributes of God were established, but was discovered with them.

Hence arose, and only from hence, a MORAL DIFFERENCE. From this time human Actions became the Subject of *Obligation*, and not till now: For though INSTINCT discovered a Difference in Actions; and REASON perceived *that* Difference to be founded in the Nature of Things; yet it was WILL only that could make a Compliance with that Difference a DUTY^s.

On these three Principles therefore, namely *the Moral Sense, the Essential Difference in Human Actions, and the Will of God*, is built the whole Edifice of *Practical Morality*: Each of which hath its distinct Motive to enforce it; Compliance with *the Moral Sense* raising a grateful Sensation; Compliance with the *essential Differences of Things* promoting the Order and Harmony of the Universe; and Compliance with the *Will of God*, obtaining Reward and avoiding Punishment.

^s See Chap. i. of Dr. Conybeare's *Defence of Revealed Religion*, where he has proved this Truth with great Solidity. And it is to Truth only that that excellent Writer always submits. For he was as likely as any to be prejudiced in favour of the *eternal Relations*, having shewn, throughout one of the best reasoned Books in the World, that he perfectly comprehended their utmost Power and Efficacy.

This, when attentively considered, can never fail of affecting us with the most lively Sense of God's Goodness to Mankind, who, graciously respecting the Imperfections of Man's *Nature*, the Weakness of his *Reason*, and the Violence of his *Passions*, hath been pleased to give three different Excitements to the Practice of Virtue, that Men of all Ranks, Constitutions, and Educations, might find their Account in one or other of them; something that would hit their *Palate*, satisfy their *Reason*, or subdue their *Will*. The first Principle, which is the *Moral Sense*, would strongly operate on those, who by the exact Temperature and Balance of the Passions, were disengaged enough to feel the Delicacy and Excellence of the Moral Sense; and had an Elegance of Mind to be charmed with the Nobleness of its Dictates. The second, which is the *essential Difference*, will have its Weight with the speculative, the abstracted and profound Reasoners, and on all those who excel in the Knowledge of human Nature. And the third, which resolves itself into the *Will of God*, and takes in all the Consequences of Obedience and Disobedience, is principally adapted to the common Run of Men.

It may perhaps be objected, to what is here delivered, *That the true Principle of Morality should have the worthiest Motive to enforce it: whereas the Will of God is enforced by the View of Rewards and Punishments; on which Motive, Virtue hath the smallest Merit.* This Character of the true Principle of Morality is perfectly right; and agrees, we say, with the Principle which we make to be so: For the legitimate Motive to Virtue, on that Principle, is *Compliance with the Will of God*; which hath the highest degree of Merit. But this not being found of sufficient Force to take in the generality, the Consequences of Compliance or Non-Compliance

pliance to this Will, as far as relates to Rewards and Punishments, were first drawn out to the People's View. In which they were dealt with as the Teachers of Mathematics treat their Pupils; when, to engage them in a sublime Demonstration, they explain to them the Utility of the Theorem.

To these great Purposes serve the three Principles, while in Conjunction: But now, as in the *Moral World* and the Affairs of Men, our Pleasure, in contemplating the Wisdom and Goodness of Providence, is often disturbed and checked by the View of some human Perversity or Folly which runs cross that Dispensation; so it is here, in the *Intellectual*. This admirable Provision for the Support of Virtue hath been, in great measure, defeated by its pretended Advocates; who, in their eternal Squabbles about the true Foundation of Morality, and the Obligation to its Practice, have sacrilegiously untwisted this *threefold Cord*; and each running away with the Part he esteemed the strongest, hath affixed that to the Throne of Heaven, as the Golden Chain that is to unite and draw all unto it.

This Man proposes to illustrate the Doctrine of the *Moral Sense*; and then the Morality of Actions is founded only in that *Sense*: With him, Metaphysics and Logic, by which the *Essential Difference*, in human Actions, is demonstrated, are nothing but *Words, Notions, Visions*; the empty Regions and Shadows of Philosophy. The Professors of them are *Moon-blind Wits*; and *Locke* himself is treated as a School-man. To talk of Reward and Punishment, consequent on the *Will of a Superior*, is to make the Practice of Virtue mercenary and servile; from which, pure human Nature is the most abhorrent.

Another undertakes to demonstrate *the Essential Differences of Things*, and their natural Fitness and Unfitness to certain Ends, and then *Morality* is solely founded on those Differences; and God and his Will have nothing to do in the Case. Then the Will of God cannot make any Thing morally good and evil, just and unjust; nor consequently be the Cause of any Obligation on Moral Agents: because the Essences and Natures of Things, which constitute Actions good and evil, are independent on that Will; which is forced to submit to their Relations like weak Man's. And therefore, if there were no natural Justice, that is, if the rational and intellectual Nature were, of itself, undetermined and unobliged to any thing, and so destitute of Morality, it were not possible that any thing should be made morally good or evil, obligatory or unlawful, or that any moral Obligation should be begotten by any Will or positive Command whatsoever. — And then our Knowledge of moral Good and Evil is solely acquired by abstract Reasoning: And to talk of its coming any other way into the Mind, is weak and superstitious, as making God act unnecessarily and superfluously.

A Third, who proposes to place *Morality* on *the Will of a Superior*, which is its true Bottom, acts yet on the same exterminating Model. He takes the other two Principles to be merely visionary: The *Moral Sense* is nothing but the Prejudice of Education; the Love of the Species, chimerical: The Notions were invented by crafty Knaves, to dupe the Young, the Vain, and the Ambitious. Nature, he saith, hath confined us to the narrow Sphere of Self-love; and our most pompous Parades of pure Disinterestedness, but the more artful Disguises of that very Passion. He not only denies all *Moral Difference* in Actions, antecedent to the Will of God,

God, which (as we shew anon) he might well do ; but likewise, all *Specific Difference* : affirms that the *Notions* of fit and unfit proceed not from *this Difference*, but from the arbitrary Impositions of Will only ; that God is the free Cause of Truths as well as Beings ; and then, consequently, if he so wills, two and two would not make four.

Thus have Men, borne away by a Fondness to their own idle Systems, presumptuously broken in upon that triple Barrier, with which God has been graciously pleased to cover and secure Virtue ; and given Advantage to the Cavils of Libertines and Infidels ; who, on each of these three Principles, thus advanced on the Ruins of the other two, have reciprocally forged a Scheme of Religion independent of Moralityⁱ ; and a Scheme of Morality independent of Religion^k ; who, how different soever their Employments may seem, are indeed but twisting the same Rope at contrary Ends : the plain Design of both being to overthrow *Religion*. But as the Moralists's is the more plausible Scheme, it is become most in Fashion : So that of late Years a Deluge of Moral Systems hath overflowed the learned World, in which either the *Moral Sense*, or the *Essential Difference* rides alone triumphant ; which like the Chorus of Clouds in *Aristophanes*, the Αἰῶνες Νεφέλαι, the ETERNAL RELATIONS, are introduced into the Scene, with a gaudy Outside, to supplant *Jupiter*, and to teach the Arts of Fraud and *Sophistry* ; but in a little Time betray themselves to be empty, obscure, noisy, impious Nothings.

ⁱ See the *Fable of the Bees*, and confer the *Enquiry into the Original of Moral Virtue*, and the *Search into the Nature of Society*, with the Body of the Book.

^k See the fourth Treatise of the *Characteristics*, intitled, *An Enquiry concerning Virtue and Merit*.

In a word to the several Sorts of *Separatists*, those I mean who are indeed Friends to Religion, and detest the Infidel's Abuse of their Principles, I would recommend the Interpretation of the following Oracle of an ancient Sage¹. ΟΥ ΓΑΡ ΕΣΤΙΝ ΕΥΤΡΕΙΝ ΤΗΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣΥΝΗΣ ΑΛΛΗΝ ΑΡΧΗΝ ΟΥΔΕ ΑΛΛΗΝ ΓΕΝΕΣΙΝ, Η ΤΗΝ ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΔΙΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΚΟΙΝΗΣ ΦΥΣΕΩΣ.

And now, to come more directly to our Adversary's Argument: which this Preparation had enabled us to answer clearly and distinctly. We say then,

1. That the Atheist cannot arrive to the Knowledge of the *Morality* of Actions properly so called.

2. That though he be capable of being affected with the Moral Sense, and may arrive to the Knowledge of the Real Essential Differences in the Qualities of human Actions; yet this Sense and this Knowledge make nothing for the purpose of Mr. *Bayle's* Argument: because these, even in conjunction, are totally insufficient to influence Society in the Practice of Virtue: which Influence is the Foundation of the Question.

Both these Conclusions, I presume, have been clearly proved from what hath been said above, of *the Origin of Society*, and, just before, of *the Foun-*

¹ This noble Truth, *that the only true Foundation and Original of Morality is the Will of God interpreted by the Moral Sense and essential Difference of Things*, was a random Thought of *Chrysippus* the Stoic. I give it this Term, 1. Because the ancient Philosophy teaches nothing certain concerning the true Ground of Moral Obligation. 2. Because *Plutarch's* quoting it amongst *the Repugnances of the Stoics*, shews it to be inconsistent with their other Doctrine. And indeed, the following the ancient Philosophers too servilely, has occasioned the Errors of modern Moralists, in unnaturally separating three Principles of practical Morality, *Plato* being the Patron of the Moral Sense; *Aristotle* of the Essential Differences; and *Zeno* of Arbitrary Will.

dation of Moral Virtue: But that nothing may be wanting to the fullest Eviction, in these important Points, I shall crave leave to examine the Matter with a little more Exactness.

1. And first, *that an Atheist, as such, can never arrive to the Knowledge of the Morality of Actions, properly so called*, we shall farther make good against Mr. Bayle's Arguments, which he brings to prove, *that the Morality of human Actions may be demonstrated on the Principles of a Stratonicean, or Atheistick Fatalist*; whom he personates in this manner:
 “ The^m Beauty, Symmetry, Regularity, and Order,
 “ seen in the Universe, are the Effects of a blind
 “ unintelligent Nature; and though this Nature, in
 “ her Workmanship, hath copied after no Ideas,
 “ she hath nevertheless produced an infinite num-
 “ ber of Species, with each its distinct essential
 “ Attribute. It is not in consequence of our Opi-
 “ nion, that Fire and Water differ in Species, and
 “ that there is a like Difference between Love and
 “ Hatred, Affirmation and Negation. This spe-
 “ cific Difference is founded in the Nature of the
 “ Things themselves. But how do we know this?
 “ Is it not by comparing the essential Properties of
 “ one of these Beings with the essential Properties
 “ of another of them? But we know, by the same
 “ way, that there is a specific Difference between
 “ Truth and Falshood, between good Faith and
 “ Perfidiousness, between Gratitude and Ingrati-
 “ tude, &c. We may then be assured, that Vice
 “ and Virtue differ specifically, by their Nature,
 “ independent of our Opinion.” This, Mr. Bayle
 calls their being *naturally* separated from each other:
 And thus much we allow him. He goes on:

^m La beauté, la symétrie, la regularité, l'ordre que l'on voit dans l'univers, sont l'ouvrage d'un nature qui n'a point de connoissance, & qu'encore, &c. *Contin. des pens. diverses*, c. 151.

“ Let

“ Letⁿ us see now by what ways *Stratonic* Atheists
 “ may come to the Knowledge of Vice and Virtue’s
 “ being *morally* as well as *naturally* separated. They
 “ attribute to the same Necessity of Nature the Esta-
 “ blishment of those Relations which we find to be
 “ between Things, and the Establishment of those
 “ Rules by which we distinguish those Relations.
 “ There are Rules of Reasoning independent of
 “ the Will of Man: It is not because Men have
 “ been pleased to fix the Rules of Syllogism, that
 “ therefore those Rules are just and true: they are
 “ so in themselves, and all the Endeavours of the
 “ Wit of Man against their Essence and their At-
 “ tributes would be ridiculous and in vain.” This
 likewise we grant him. He proceeds: “ If then
 “ there are certain and immutable Rules for the Ope-
 “ ration of the Understanding, there are also such
 “ for the Determinations of the Will.” But this
 we deny. He would prove it thus: “ The^o Rules
 “ of these Determinations are not altogether arbi-
 “ trary; some of them proceed from the Necessity
 “ of Nature; and these impose an indispensable
 “ Obligation. The most general of these Rules is
 “ this, *that Man ought to will what is most confor-*
 “ *mable to right Reason*: For there is no Truth
 “ more evident than this, that it is fit a reasonable
 “ Creature should conform to right Reason, and
 “ unfit that such a Creature should recede from it.”
 This is his Argument. To which we shall now
 reply, and shew that from thence no *moral* *Diffe-*
rence can be deduced. He contends that *Things*
are both naturally and morally separable. He speaks
 of these Ideas as very different (as indeed they are)

ⁿ Voions comment ils pouvoient savoir qu’elles estoient outre cela separées moralement. Ils attribuoient, &c. *Idem ibid.*

^o Les regles de ces actes — là ne sont par toutes arbitraires: il y en a qui emanent, &c. *Idem ibid.*

and proves the Truth of them by different Arguments. *The natural essential Difference of things* then, if we mean any thing by the Terms, hath this apparent Property ; that it creates a *Fitness* in the Agent to act agreeably thereto : As the *Moral Difference* of things creates, besides this *Fitness*, an *Obligation* likewise ; when therefore there is an *Obligation* in the Agent, there is a *Moral Difference* in the Things, and so on the contrary, for they are inseparable. If then we prove that right Reason alone cannot properly *oblige*, it will follow that the Knowledge of what is agreeable to right Reason doth not induce a *Moral Difference* : Or that a Stratonicean is not under any *Obligation* to act agreeably to right Reason, which is the Thing Mr. Bayle contends for.

1. Obligation, in *general*, necessarily implies an Obliger : The Obliger must be different from, and not one and the same with the Obligated : To make the same Man at once the Obliger and Obligated, is the same thing as to make him treat or enter into Compact with himself, which is the highest of Absurdities, in the Matter of Obligation. For it is an unexceptionable Rule of right Reason, that whoever acquires a Right to any thing from the Obligation of another towards him, may relinquish that Right. If therefore the Obliger and Obligated should be one and the same Person, there all Obligation must be void of course ; or rather there would be no Obligation begun : Yet the *Stratonic* Atheist is guilty of this Absurdity, when *he* talks of Actions being *moral* or *obligatory*. For what *Being* can he find whereon to found this Obligation ? Will he say *Right Reason* ? but that is the very Absurdity we complain of ; because *Reason* is only an Attribute of the Person obliged, his Assistant to judge of his Obligations, if he hath any from another Being : To make *this* then the Obliger, is to make a Man oblige

oblige himself. If he say he means by *Reason* not every Man's particular Reason, but *Reason in general*; we reply, that *this* Reason is a mere abstract Notion, which hath no real Subsistence; and how that which hath no real Subsistence should *oblige*, is still more difficult to apprehend.

2. But farther, *Moral* Obligation, that is, the Obligation of a free Agent, implies a *Law*, which enjoins and forbids; but a *Law* is the Imposition of an intelligent Superior, who hath Power to exact conformity thereunto. But blind unintelligent Nature is no Lawgiver, nor can what proceeds necessarily from thence come under the Notion of a Law: We say indeed, in common Speech, the *Law of Reason*, and the *Law of Necessity*; but these are merely popular and figurative Expressions: By the first, we mean the Rule that the supreme Lawgiver hath laid down for judging of his Will, and by the second only an Insinuation that *Necessity* hath, as it were, one Property of a *Law*, namely that of *forcing*. But how any thing except a Law, in the proper philosophic Sense, can oblige a dependent reasonable Being endued with Will, is utterly inconceivable. The fundamental Error in Mr. *Bayle's* Argument seems to be this: He saw the essential Difference of things, he found those Differences the adequate Object of the *Understanding*, and so too hastily concluded them the adequate Object of the *Will* likewise. In this he was mistaken, they are indeed the adequate Object of the Understanding; and for this Reason, the Understanding is necessitated in its Perceptions, and therefore is under the sole Direction of these necessary Differences; and is properly passive in the Affair. But the Will is not necessitated in its Determinations: for Instance, that Three are less than Five, the Understanding is necessitated to judge, but the Will is not necessitated
to

to chuse Five before Three : Therefore the essential Differences of things are not the adequate Object of the Will, the Law of a Superior must be taken in, to constitute *Obligation* in Choice, or *Morality* in Actions.

The Atheist *Hobbes* seems to have penetrated farther into this Matter, than the *Stratonicean* of Mr. *Bayle* ; he appeared to have been sensible that *Morality* implied *Obligation*, and *Obligation* a *Law*, and a *Law* a *Lawgiver* : Therefore, having expelled the Legislator of the Universe, that *Morality* of Actions might not become quite Foundationless, he thought fit to underprop it with his earthly God, the *Leviathan* ; and to make him the Creator and Supporter of Moral *Right* and *Wrong*.

But a Favourer of Mr. *Bayle's* Paradox may perhaps object, that as we have allowed a *Fitness*, and *Unfitness* in Actions, discoverable by the essential Difference of Things ; and as this *Fitness* and *Unfitness* implies *Benefit* and *Damage* to the Actor, and others, it being in Fact seen, that the Practice of *Virtue* promotes the *Happiness* of the Individual, or at least of the Species, and that *Vice* obstructs it : it may be said, that this will be sufficient to make *Morality*, or *Obligation*, in the *Stratonic* World ; if not in the strict Sense of the Word, yet as to the Nature of the Thing. To this we reply, that in that World, whatever advanced human *Happiness*, would be only a natural Good ; and *Virtue* as merely so, as Food and Covering : and, that which retarded it, a natural Evil, whether it was *Vice*, *Pestilence*, or unkindly Seasons. *Natural*, I say, in Contradistinction to *Moral*, or such a Good as any one would be obliged to seek or promote. For 'till it be made appear that Man hath received his Being from the *Will* of another, and so depending on that other, is accountable to him

him for it; he can be under no moral Obligation to prefer Good to Evil, or even Life to Death. From the *Nature* of any Action, Morality cannot arise; nor from its *Effects*: Not from the first, because, being only reasonable or unreasonable, nothing follows but a *Fitness* in doing one, and an *Absurdity* in doing the other: Not from the *second*, because did the Productive Good or Evil make the Action moral, Brutes, from whose Actions proceed both one and other, would have *Morality*.

If it be farther urged, that the Observance of these essential Differences is the promoting the Perfection of a particular System, that contributes, in its Concentration, to the Perfection of the Universe; and that therefore a reasonable Creature is *obliged* to conform thereto: I answer, first, that (on the Principles before laid down) to make a reasonable Creature obliged, in this Case, he must first be enforced by the Whole, of which he is Part. This Enforcement cannot here be by intentional Command, whose Object is free Agency, because the *Stratonic* Whole, or universal Nature, is blind and unintelligible. It must force then by the Necessity of its Nature; and this will, indeed, make Men obliged as Clocks are by Weights, but never as free Agents are, by the unnecessitating Command of an intelligent Superior, which only can make Actions moral. But secondly, an uniform perfect Whole can never be the Effect of blind Fate, or Chance: but is the plain Image and Impression of one intelligent self-existent Mind.

But to set this Matter in the fullest Light, I will beg leave, before I conclude, to take notice of two or three Objections (*not peculiar* to the *Stratoniceans*) against Morality's being founded in Will.

Obj. 1. It is said, "That, as every Creature necessarily pursues Happiness, it is *that* which obliges

“ obliges to moral Observance, and not the Will
 “ of God : because it is to procure Happiness that
 “ we obey Command, and do every other Act :
 “ and because, if that Will commanded us to what
 “ would make us unhappy, we should be forced to
 “ disobey it.” To this I answer, that when it is
 said *Morality is founded on Will*, it is not meant
 that every Will obliges, but that nothing but Will
 can. It is plain the Will of an Inferior or Equal
 cannot be meant by it : It is not simply Will then,
 but Will so and so circumstanced : And why it is
 not as much Will that obliges, when it is the *Will of*
a Superior seeking our good, as the *Will of a Superior*
simply, I am yet to learn. To say then that Hap-
 piness and not Will makes the Obligation, seems
 to me like saying, that when in Mechanics a
 Weight is raised by an Engine, the *Wheels* and
Pullies are not the Cause, but that universal Affec-
 tion of Matter called *Attraction*. If it be still
 urged that one can no more be called the Obliger
 than the other ; because though Happiness could
 not oblige without Will, on the other hand Will
 could not oblige without Happiness ; I reply, this
 is a Mistake. Will could not indeed oblige to Un-
 happiness ; but it would oblige to what should pro-
 duce neither One nor the Other, though all Consi-
 derations of the Consequence of Obeying or Diso-
 beying were away.

Obj. 2. It is said, “ That if, according to the
 “ modern Notions of Philosophy, the Will of God
 “ be determined by the eternal Relations of Things,
 “ they are properly those Relations (as Dr. Clarke
 “ would have it) that oblige, and not the Will of
 “ God. For if A impel B ; and B, C ; and C, D ;
 “ it is A and not C that properly impells D.”
 But here I suspect the Objection confounds *natural*
Cause and Effect with *moral Agent and Patient* ;

which are two distinct things, as appears, as on many other Accounts, so from their Effects; the one implying *natural Necessity*, the other, only *moral Fitness*. Thus, in the Case before us, the eternal Relations are, if you will, the *natural Cause*, but the Will of God is the *moral Agency*: And our Question is, not of *natural Necessity* that results from the former, but, of *moral Fitness* that results from the latter. Thus that which is not properly the natural Cause of my Acting, is the moral Cause of it. And so on the contrary. To illustrate what hath been said: Something, I will suppose to be commanded me by the King; whose Will is inclined by a Favourite at home, or determined by an Enemy abroad; and theirs, by some other; and so on, in a long Series. Now who would be so extravagant as to say it was not the King's Will, that properly obliged me, but the first Will in the Series? Or who is so blind as not to see that the last Will is of the Nature of *moral Agency*, and the first of *natural Cause*?

Obj. 3. It is said, "That not the Will of God, " but the essential Difference of Things, is the " Ground and Foundation of moral Obligation; " because if it be asked why we should obey God's " Will, the only Reply is, that *it is FIT we should*. " But *Fitness* arises from the essential Difference of " Things; therefore it is that which obliges, and " not Will." This is given chiefly to divert the Reader with one of those metaphysical Quibbles, which, to the Disgrace of the Science, or, at least, of its Professors, are with much Pains and Labour excogitated to embarrass all abstract Questions of this Nature. And can any thing be more pleasant than to make *that very Consciousness that Will, and Will only, can oblige*, an Argument that Will doth not oblige? For this *Fitness* is just that very *Consciousness*,

sciousness, and nothing else. But farther: When we say it is fit that God should be obeyed, we do not mean it is fit an Inferior in Power or Wisdom should obey his Superior: But *it is fit a Creature should obey his Creator*, because the first hath only a *natural Fitness*, the latter a *Moral*. For in the first Case there being yet no Proof that our Perception of these essential Differences was *intentionally given*; Will, from whence comes Obligation, is not concerned: Therefore no Morality in this Fitness. But in the latter Case, the Perception of these essential Differences is supposed to be *intentionally given*; Will is therefore concerned; is still prior to *Obligation*; and makes this Fitness *moral*. So that now we see, though this Truth, that a *Creature should obey his Creator*, be called a *Fitness*; as this, *that an Inferior should obey his Superior*, and a thousand others are called *Fitnesses*: Yet this common Name (and to common Names we are but too apt to think there are always common Natures) is owing only to the Poverty of Language: It being evident that the *Fitness*, that a Creature, who depends entirely on his Creator, should obey him, is infinitely different from any other *Fitness* that arises to a supposed *independent Being*, from the comparing and perceiving the Relations between his Ideas.

On the whole, then, it appears, from the strongest and clearest Deductions of Reason, that *Will*, and *Will only*, can constitute *Obligation*; and, consequently, *moral Actions*, *i. e.* such as deserve *Reward* and *Punishment*. Yet when Men reflect on the Affections of their own Minds, and find *there a Sense of Right and Wrong* so strongly impressed as to be attended with a *Consciousness* that the one deserves *Reward* and the other *Punishment*, even tho' there were no God; this so perplexes Matters, as to dispose them, in opposition to all those plain

Deductions, to place Morality in the *essential Difference* of Things. But would they consider that *that very Sensation*, which so much misleads us in judging of the true Foundation of Morality, is the plainest Indication of *Will*, which, for the better Support of Virtue, so framed and constituted the human Mind, a Constitution utterly inconceivable on the Supposition of *no God*; would they, I say, but consider this, all the Difficulty would intirely vanish.

But so it hath happened, that this most evident Truth, that *Morality is founded in Will*, hath been long controverted even among *Theists*. What hath much perplexed their Disputes is, that the Contenders for it have generally thought themselves obliged to deny (in order to support their Cause) the *natural essential Differences* of Things, antecedent to a Law; imagining, that the *Morality* of Actions would follow this Concession. But this is a Mistake, which the rightly Distinguishing between Things *naturally* and *morally* separable, as we have explained it above, will rectify. That the Distinction hath lain much unobserved, is owing to the unheeded Appetite and Aversion of the *moral Sense*; which hath contributed greatly to confound it: And their Adversaries being in the same Prepossession that the *One* inferred the *Other*, when they had clearly demonstrated the *natural essential Difference*, never gave themselves any farther Trouble, but delivered *this* as a Proof of the *Moral Difference*, though these be, in reality, as we may see above, two distinct Things, and independent of one another. One of our most celebrated Writers ^p hath not escaped this Delusion: Who, dissatisfied with all the Principles, from which the preceding Writers of his Party, had deduced the Morality of Actions, when he had demonstra-

^p *The Religion of Nature delineated.*

ted,

ted, with greater Clearness than any before him, *the natural essential Difference of Things*, unluckily mistook it for the *Moral Difference*; and thence made *the formal Ratio of Moral Good and Evil, to consist in a Conformity of Mens Actions to the Truth of the Case, or otherwise*. For it is a Principle with him, that a true Proposition may be denied or affirmed, or things may be denied or affirmed to be what they are, by *Deeds* as well as by express *Words*; but had both Parties been pleased to consider *this natural essential Difference of Things*, as, what it must be confessed by both to be, THE RULE THAT GOD HATH GIVEN HIS CREATURES TO BRING THEM TO THE KNOWLEDGE OF HIS WILL, the Dispute had been at an End: And they had employed *this Difference*, not as the *Atheist* does, for the *Foundation* of Morality, but, as all true Theists should do, for the *Medium* to bring us to that only sound *Foundation*, the *Will* and Command of God.

Thus we see, that an *Atheist*, as such, cannot arrive to the Knowledge of *Morality*.

2. We are now to prove our second Conclusion against Mr. *Bayle's* Argument, “ That the Idea of “ the *Moral Sense*, and the Knowledge of the *na-
“ tural essential Difference of Things*, are, even in
“ Conjunction, insufficient to influence Society in
“ the Practice of Virtue:” But we must previously observe, that the Arguments, which we allow to be conclusive for the *Stratonic Atheist's* Comprehension of the natural essential Difference of Things, take in only that Species of Atheism: the *Other*, which derive all from Chance and Hazard, are incapable of this Knowledge; and must be content with only the *Moral Sense* for their Guide. We shall therefore *first* enquire what this *Moral Sense* is able to do alone towards influencing virtuous Pra-

etice; and *Secondly*, what new Force it acquires in conjunction with the Knowledge of the *natural essential Difference of Things*.

1. Men are misled by the Name of *Instinct* (which we allow the *Moral Sense* to be) to imagine that Impressions made by it, are very strongly operative, from observing them to be so in Brute Animals. But the Cases are widely different: In Beasts, the Instinct is invincibly forceable, as it is the sole Spring of Action. In Man, it is only a friendly Prepossession of the Judgment, and a Conciliator, as it were, between Reason and the other Appetites; all which have their turn in the Determinations of the Will. It must then consequently be much weaker, as but sharing the Power of putting upon Action with many other Principles. Nor could it have been otherwise without destroying the Liberty of Choice. It is indeed of so nice a Nature, so delicately interwoven into the human Constitution, and so easily and frequently effaced, that some have even denied the Existence of a Quality which, in most of its common Subjects, they cannot discover any the least Traces of. So that one would be tempted to liken it to that *candid Appearance*, which results, as the modern Philosophy shews us, from a Mixture of all Kinds of Colours. For, as here, if the Proportions of the several simple Colours be not equally mingled, no Whiteness will emerge from the Composition; so there, unless the original Passions and Appetites be rightly tempered and balanced, this *Moral Instinct* can never shew itself in any strong or sensible Operation. This being the Case of the *Moral Instinct*, it is evidently too weak, alone, to influence Practice.

When the *Moral Sense* is made the Rule, and especially when it is the only Rule, it is necessary that its Rectitude, as a Rule, should be known and ascer-

ascertained: But this it cannot be to an Atheist: For till it be allowed there was Design in our Production, it can never be shewn that one Appetite is righter than another, though they be contrary and inconsistent. The Appetite therefore, that, at present, is most Importunate to be gratified, must be judged to be the Right, how adverse soever to the Moral Sense. But, supposing this Moral Sense not to be so easily confounded with the other Appetites; but that it might be kept distinct, as having this different Quality from the rest, that it is objective to a *Whole*, or entire Species; whereas the Others terminate in *Self*, or in the *private System*; though as to Whole and Parts, an Atheist must have very slender and confused Ideas; granting this, I say, yet human Actions, that are the Issue of *those Appetites*, would, in Time, effectually, though insensibly, efface the Idea of the Moral Sense, in the generality of Mankind. Almost infinite are the popular Customs, in the several Nations and Ages of the World, that owe their Birth to the more violent Passions of Fear, Lust, and Anger. The most Whimsical and Capricious, as well as Inhuman and Unnatural, have arose from hence. It must needs therefore be, that Customs of this Original should be as opposite to the *Moral Sense*, as those Appetites from whence they were derived. But of how great Power Custom is to erase the strongest Impressions of Nature, much stronger than that of the *Moral Sense*, we may learn from that general Practice, which prevailed in the most learned and polite Countries of the World, of *exposing their Children*, whereby that strong instinctive Affection for the Offspring was violated without Remorse. This Consideration, of the Force of Custom, and its Efficacy in wiping out and obliterating all the Impressions of Nature, and Sentiments of Hu-

manity, would lead one into a very beaten Common-place; which whoever would pursue, may turn to *Sextus Empiricus*, amongst the Ancients, and *Montaigne* amongst the Moderns. It suffices, that the Fact is too notorious to be disputed. And what makes more particularly for my Argument is, that *Custom* is a Power which opposes the *Moral Sense* not *partially*, or at certain Times and Places, but *universally*. If therefore Custom in the politest States, where a Providence was taught and acknowledged, made such Havock of Virtue; into what Confusion must Things soon run, where there is no other Barrier than the feeble Idea of the *Moral Sense*? Nor can it be replied, that the Customs here spoken of, as so destructive to the Moral Sense, are the Issue of false Religions, which Spring and Fountain-head of Evil Atheism at once dries up: For the Instance here given is of a Custom merely Civil; with which Religion had no manner of Concern. And so are an infinite Number of others that are carefully collected by the two Writers mentioned above.

2. But now, *Secondly*, for our *Stratonic* Atheist; in whom, we suppose the *Moral Sense*, and the *Knowledge of the natural essential Difference of things* to be conjoined, as Motives to virtuous Practice. And, in Conjunction, they impart mutual Strength to one another: For as soon as the *natural essential Difference* is established and applied, it becomes a Mark to distinguish the *Moral Sense* from the other Appetites that are Irregular and Wrong. And, on the other hand, the *Moral Sense* being thus carefully kept up and supported, the Mind, in its metaphysical Reasonings on the *essential Difference*, is guarded from running into Visions, and mistaking Chimeras for Realities.

The

The Question then is, Whether a clear Conviction of Right and Wrong, abstracted from all Will and Command, and consequently, from the Expectation of Reward and Punishment, be sufficient to influence the generality of Mankind in any tolerable Degree. That it is not, will, I suppose, be clearly proved by the following Consideration. All, who have considered human Nature attentively, have found ^q, that it is not enough that Virtue be owned to be the *greatest* Good (which the *Beauty* or *Reasonableness* of it may evince) to make Men follow it. It must first be brought Home to them; and considered by them as a Good that makes a necessary Part of their Happiness, before it can raise any Desire in them. For there is no need that a Man's Happiness, in his own Opinion, should depend on the Attainment of the greatest possible Good; and he daily forms Schemes of complete Happiness without it. But the Gratification of strongly craving Appetites, founded on Self-love, being thought to contribute much to human Happiness, and being at the same Time so opposite to, and inconsistent with Virtue, the Generality will never be brought to think that Virtue makes up a necessary Part of Human Happiness. To balance these Appetites, something then more interesting must be laid in the Scale of Virtue; and this can be only Rewards and Punishments, which Religion proposes from a *Morality* founded on *Will*.

But this may be farther understood by what hath been observed above, concerning the Nature and Original of Civil Society. *Self-Interest*, as we there shew, spurring to Action, by Hopes and Fears, caused all those Disorders amongst Men, which required the Remedy of Civil Society. And *Self-Interest*, again, operating by Hopes and Fears

^p See *Locke's Essay*, Chap. Of Power, § 71.

in Society, afforded Means for the Redress of those first Disorders; so far forth as Society could carry those Hopes and Fears. For to combat this universal Passion of Self-Interest by another, as strong a One, at least, must needs be opposed to it: But *that* being the strongest in our Nature, all that could be done was to contrive a Way to apply *it* to the contrary Purpose. Therefore because Society, as such, failed (from the natural Deficiency of its Plan) in remedying the Disorders it was instituted to correct, and consequently was obliged to call in the Aid of Religion, as is above explained; it is evident it must proceed *still* on the same Principles of *Hopes and Fears*. But, of all the three Grounds of practical Morality, the third only thus operating, and an Atheist not having this third, Religion, that only gives it, must be unavoidably necessary for Society. Or in other Words, the *Moral Sense*, and the Knowledge of the *natural essential Difference of Things* conjoined, will be altogether insufficient to influence the generality of Mankind in virtuous Practice. I have been somewhat long on this Head; but I hope the Importance of the Subject will be judged a fair Excuse. Mr. *Bayle's* other Arguments shall be dispatched with greater Brevity.

S E C T. V.

BUT Mr. *Bayle*, who well knew the Force of this Argument, is unwilling to rest the Matter here; and therefore casts about for a Motive of more general Influence; which, he thinks, he finds in that strong Appetite to Glory, Praise, and Reputation, that an Atheist must needs have as well as other Men. And this makes his second Argument; which runs in these Words:

II. " It

II. “ It is most certain^r, that a Man devoid of
“ all Religion may be very sensible of worldly
“ Honour, and very covetous of Praise and Glory.
“ If such a One find himself in a Country where
“ Ingratitude and Knavery expose Men to Con-
“ tempt, and Generosity and Virtue are admired,
“ we need not doubt but he will affect the Cha-
“ racter of a Man of Honour; and be capable of
“ restoring a Trust, even where the Laws could
“ lay no hold upon him. The Fear of passing in
“ the World for a faithless dishonest Man would
“ prevail over his Avarice. And as there are Men
“ who expose themselves to a thousand Inconve-
“ niences, and a Thousand Dangers, to revenge
“ an Affront, which perhaps they have received
“ before very few Witnesses, and which they would
“ readily pardon, were it not for fear of incur-
“ ring Infamy amongst those they had to do with;
“ so I believe the same here; that this Person,
“ whom we suppose devoid of Religion, would,
“ notwithstanding all the Opposition of his Ava-
“ rice, be capable of restoring a Trust which it
“ could not be legally proved he had withheld.
“ When he sees that his good Faith will be at-
“ tended with the Applauses of the whole Place
“ where he resides; while his Perfidy might, some
“ Time or other, be objected to him, or at least so
“ strongly suspected, that he could not pass in the
“ World’s Opinion for an honest Man: For it is
“ that interior Esteem, in the Minds of others,
“ that we aspire at, above all things. The Words
“ and Actions, that mark this Esteem, please us
“ on no other Account, than as we imagine them
“ to be the Signs of what passes in the Mind: A

^r Il est—fort certain, qu’un homme destitué de foi, peut être fort sensible à l’honneur du monde, &c. *Pens. div. c. 179.*

“ Machine so ordered as to make the most re-
“ spectful Gesticulations, and to pronounce the
“ clearest articulate Sounds, in all the Detours of
“ Flattery, would never contribute to give us a
“ better Opinion of ourselves, because we should
“ know they were not Signs of Esteem in the Mind
“ of another. On these Accounts therefore, he,
“ of whom I speak, might sacrifice his Avarice to
“ his Vanity, if he only thought he might be su-
“ spected of having violated the sacred Laws of
“ Trust. And though he might even believe him-
“ self secure from all Suspicion, yet, still, he could
“ easily resolve to prefer the honourable to the lu-
“ crative, for fear of falling into the Inconvenience
“ which has happened to some of publishing their
“ Crimes themselves while they slept, or in the
“ Transports of a Fever. *Lucretius* uses this Mo-
“ tive to draw Men, without Religion, to Virtue.”

To this we reply, 1. That it is indeed true, that Commendation and Disgrace are strong Motives to Men to accommodate themselves to the Opinions and Rules of those, with whom they converse; and that those Rules and Opinions, in a good Measure, correspond, in most civilized Countries, with the unchangeable Rule of Right, whatever *Sextus* and *Montaigne* have been pleased to say to the contrary. For Virtue evidently advancing, and Vice as visibly obstructing the general Good of Mankind, it is no Wonder that *that* should be encouraged, with Esteem and Reputation, wherein every one finds his Advantage; and *that* discountenanced, by Reproach and Infamy, which hath a contrary Tendency. But then we say, that seeing this good Opinion of the World may be almost as certainly, and more quickly and easily, gained by a well-acted Hypocrisy as by a sincere Practice of Virtue, the Atheist, who lies under no Restraints, with regard
to

to the moral Qualities of Actions, will, of course, prosecute the former Rout to Reputation; which is consistent with a full Indulgence of all his other Passions; while by aspiring to worldly Glory, in this latter Way, his Appetites will be at constant War with one another: And he will be always finding himself under the hard Necessity of *sacrificing*, as Mr. Bayle well expresses it, *his Avarice to his Vanity*. Now this Inconvenience he may avoid by resolving to be Honest only before Company, (which will procure him Reputation enough) and to play the Rogue in Secret, where he may fully indulge his Avarice, or what other Passion he is most addicted to. That this will be the Scheme of him, who has no Motive but popular Reputation to act virtuously, is so plain that Mr. Bayle was reduced to the hardest Shifts imaginable to invent a Reason why an Atheist, thus actuated by the Love of Glory, might possibly behave himself honestly, when he could do the contrary without Suspicion. These are his Words: “And though he might
 “believe himself secure from all Suspicion, yet still
 “he could easily resolve to prefer the honourable
 “to the lucrative for fear of falling into the In-
 “convenience which hath happened to some, of
 “publishing their Crimes themselves, while they
 “slept, or in the Transports of a Fever.” Here Atheism appears in all its Misery and Nakedness. To this, did that wretched Philosophy drive its two ablest Apologists: For Mr. Bayle tells us, he borrows the Argument from *Lucretius*. *Lucretius*, says he, *uses this Motive to draw Men, without Religion, to Virtue*. It had been to the Purpose to have told us, what Man, from the Time of *Lucretius* to his, had been ever *so drawn*. But they must know little of human Nature, who can suppose that the Consideration of these remote, possible
 indeed,

indeed, but most unlikely Accidents, have ever any Share in the Determination of the Will, when Men are deliberating on Actions of Importance, and distracted by the shifting uncertain Views of complicated Good and Evil. But granting this to be likely, or common; the Man Mr. *Bayle* describes could never get clear of the Danger of that Contingency, which Way soever he resolved to act. Let us suppose him to take the honourable Part, even then, Sleep or a Fever might as easily deprive him of the Reputation he affects: For I believe there is no Man, of this Turn, but would be as much ashamed to have it known that all his virtuous Actions proceeded from a selfish Vanity, as to be discovered to have stretched a Point of Justice, of which Civil Laws could take no Cognizance. It is certain that the first makes a Man as contemptible, in the Eyes of others, and more ridiculous than the latter; because the Advantage aimed at is fantastical, and one Discovery Sleep or a Fever is as likely to make as the other.

But, 2. Supposing our Atheist to be suspicious that even in a Course of the best acted Hypocrisy he risks the Danger of a Discovery, yet, as this Practice enables him to provide largely for himself by all the Means of secret Injustice; and observing that though indeed Esteem is in general annexed to apparently good Actions, and Infamy to bad; yet that there is no Virtue which procures popular Esteem so universally, if we may judge of it, as we must, by the outward Marks, as *Riches and Power*, there being no Infamy which they will not efface or cover; and this, as we said before, being a Road to Esteem that leads him, at the same time, to the Gratification of his other Passions, there is no doubt but he will chuse to run the Hazard of all the Inconveniences of a Discovery, which so
useful

useful a Practice may be indeed liable to, but which it can so readily repair. And here we are to observe, and I had need to observe it oft, Mr. Bayle so industriously affecting to forget it, that the People, the gross Body of Mankind, are the only Subject in question. Now what they affect is *Popular Opinion*: But all, who know any thing, know this, that *Popular Opinion* is inseparably attached to *Riches and Power*^s.

But, after many Detours, Mr. Bayle is at length brought to own that Atheism is, indeed, in its natural Tendency, destructive to Society; but then, he persists in it, that it never actually becomes so,

III. *Because* (and this is his next Argument) *Men do not act according to their Principles*, nor set their Practice by their Opinions. He owns this to be very much a Mystery; but for the Fact appeals to the Observation of Mankind: “For if it were not
“so (says he)^t how is it possible that Christians,
“who know so clearly by a Revelation, supported
“by so many Miracles, that they must renounce
“Vice, if they would be eternally happy, and avoid
“eternal Misery; who have so many excellent
“Preachers — so many zealous Directors of Con-
“science — so many Books of Devotion; how is it
“possible, amidst all this, that Christians should
“live, as they do, in the most enormous Disor-
“ders of Vice?” And again^v, agreeably to this Observation, he takes notice, “that Cicero hath
“remarked how, that many *Epicureans*, contrary
“to their Principles, were good Friends and honest

^s — Πλάτωνα δ' ἀρετὴν καὶ κῦδος ὁπηρεῖ.

Δαίμονι δ' οἷος ἔηοθα —

Hesiod. Oper. & Dies.

^t — Si cela n'étoit pas, comment, &c. Pens. div. c. 136.

^v Cicéron l'a remarqué à l'égard de plusieurs Epicuriens, &c. c. 167.

“ Men ; who accommodated their Actions, not
 “ to their Principle, the Desire of Pleasure, but to
 “ the Rules of Reason.” Hence he concludes :
 “ That those lived better than they talked ; where-
 “ as, others talked better than they lived. The
 “ same Remark (says he) hath been made on the
 “ Conduct of the *Stoics* : Their Principle was,
 “ that all Things arrived by an inevitable Necessi-
 “ fity, which God himself was subject to. Now
 “ this should naturally have terminated in Inaction ;
 “ and disposed them to abstain from Exhortations,
 “ Promises, and Menacing. On the contrary,
 “ there was no Sect of Philosophers more given to
 “ Preaching ; or whose whole Conduct did more
 “ plainly shew that they thought themselves the
 “ absolute Masters of their Destiny.” The Con-
 clusion he draws from all this, and much more to
 the same purpose, is ^w, that “ therefore Religion
 “ doth not do that Service towards restraining Vice
 “ as is pretended, nor Atheism that Injury, in en-
 “ couraging it : while each Professor acts contrary
 “ to his proper Principle.”

Now from this Conclusion, and from Words
 dropped up and down^x, of the mysterious Quality
 of this Phænomenon, one would suspect Mr. *Bayle*
 thought that there was some strange Principle
 in Man, that disposed him unaccountably to
 act in opposition to his Opinions, whatever they
 were. And indeed so he must necessarily suppose,

^w *Contin. des Pens. div. c. 149.*

^x Je conçois que c'est une chose bien etrange, qu'un homme qui
 vit bien moralement, & qui ne croit ni paradis, ni enfer. Mais j'en
 reviens toujours-la, que l'homme est une certaine Creature, qui avec
 toute sa raison, n'agit pas toujours consequemment à sa creance ;
 — ce seroit une chose plus infinie, que de parcourir toutes les bizar-
 reries de l'homme. — Un Monstre plus monstrueux que les Cen-
 taures & que la Chimere de la fable. *Pens. div. c. 176.*

or he supposes nothing to the purpose: For if, on Examination, it be found, that this Principle, whatever it be, sometimes disposes Men as violently to act *according to* their Opinions, as at other times it inclines them to act *against* them, the *Principle* will do Mr. Bayle's Argument no Service. And if the *Principle*, after all, should chance to prove only the irregular Passions and Appetites of Men, it will conclude directly against him. And by good luck, we have our Adversary himself confessing that this is indeed the Case: For though, as I said, he commonly affects to give this perverse Conduct in Men a mysterious Air, the necessary Support of the Sophistry of his Conclusion; yet, when he is off his Guard, we have him declaring the plain Reason of it; as where he says, "The y general
 " Idea we entertain of a Man, who believes a God,
 " a Heaven and a Hell, leads us to think that he
 " would do every thing that he knows agreeable
 " to the Will of God; and avoid every thing that
 " he knows to be disagreeable to it: But the Life
 " of Man shews that he does the direct contrary.
 " The Reason is this: Man does not determine
 " himself to one Action rather than another by the
 " general Knowledge of what he ought to do,
 " but by the particular Judgment he passes on each
 " distinct Case, when he is on the point of pro-
 " ceeding to Action. This particular Judgment,
 " may, indeed, be conformable to those general
 " Ideas of *fit* and *right*, but, for the most part, it
 " is not so. He complies, almost always, with the
 " reigning Passion of the Heart, to the Bias of the
 " Temperament, to the Force of contracted Habits,"
 &c. Now if this be the Case, as in truth it is, we must needs draw from this Principle the very

y L'idée générale veut que, &c. *Pens. div. c. 135.*

contrary Conclusion, That *Men act not according to their Opinions*, and that they are the irregular Passions and Appetites which cause the Perversity, a Religionist will *often act against his Principles*, but an Atheist *never*; but *always conformably to them*: Because an Atheist indulges his vicious Passions, while he acts *according to his Principles*, in the same manner that a Religionist does, when he acts *against his*. It is therefore only *accidental* that Men act contrary to their Opinions; then, when they oppose their Passions: or, in Mr. Bayle's Words, when *the general Knowledge of what one ought to do, doth not coincide with the particular Judgment one passes on each distinct Case*; which Judgment is so frequently directed by the Passions: And this Coincidence always happens in an Atheist's Determination of himself to Action: So that the Matter, when stripped of the Parade of Eloquence, and cleared from the Perplexity of his abounding Verbage, lies open to this easy Answer. We allow, Man frequently acts contrary to his Opinions, both *metaphysical* and *moral*, in the Cases Mr. Bayle puts.

1. *In metaphysical*, — where the Principle contradicts common Sentiments, as the *Stoical Fate*, and *Christian Predestination*²: There, the Maintainers never acted, in Life, conformably to their Opinions. But this affects not the Case in hand, though Mr. Bayle, by producing this Instance, would insinuate, that an Atheist might be no more influenced, in his Actions, by his speculative Opinion of *no God*, than a Fatalist by his, of *no Liberty*. But the Cases are widely different: For, the Belief of a *God* firmly establishing the Duties of Morality, so opposite to the irregular Appetites, the contrary

² *Pens. div. c. 176.*

Belief which takes away that Foundation, would consequently gratify those Appetites, which would then suffer, nay invite, the Atheist to act according to his Principles. But the Opinion of *Fate* having no such Influence on the acknowledged Morality of Actions, to the Gratification of the Appetites, and at the same time contradicting common Sentiments, we easily conceive how the Maintainers of it are brought to act in Life, differently thereunto. Nay it will appear, when rightly considered, that the Atheist would be so far from not acting according to his Opinions, that were his Principle of *no God*, added to the Fatalist's of *no Liberty*, it would then occasion the Fatalist to act according to his Opinions, though he did not so before; if the Cause Mr. *Bayle* assigns for Mens not conforming their Practice to their Principles, be true: For the sole Reason why the Fatalist did not act according to his Opinions, was, because they could not be used, while he was a Theist, to the Gratification of his Passions: For that, though it appeared, if there were no Liberty, there would be no Merit in Actions; yet believing, at the same time, a God, the Rewarder and Punisher of Men, as if there were Merit in Actions, he would act likewise as if there were. But take away from him the Belief of a God, and there would be then no Cause why he should not act *according* to his Principle of Fate, as far as relates to Moral Practice.

2. Next in *Morals* — We own Men here, likewise, frequently act contrary to their Opinions: For the View (as we observed above) of the greatest confessed possible Good, which, to a Religionist, is the Practice of Virtue, will never, 'till it be considered as making a necessary Part of *our* Happiness, excite us to the Pursuit of it: and our irregular Passions, which are of a contrary nature, while they continue

importunate, and while one or other is perpetually solliciting us, will prevent us from thus considering Virtue as making a necessary Part of our Happiness. This is the true Cause of all that Disorder in the Life of Man, which Moralists so much admire; which the Devout lament; and which Philosophers could never find a Cure for: where there is a perpetual Conflict between the Appetites and Reason, and the Man's Practice is continually opposing his Principles. But, on the other hand, an Atheist, whose Opinions lead him to conclude sensual Pleasure to be the greatest possible Good, will, by the Concurrence of his Passions, consider it of course as making a necessary Part of *his* Happiness: And then nothing can prevent his acting according to his Principles.

In a word, we own the Atheist, Mr. *Bayle* describes, would be as apt, nay apter, to act against his Opinions than a Theist: but they are only those slender Opinions concerning *the Obligation to virtuous Practice* which he hath given him: for if Man doth not pursue the greatest confessed possible Good, 'till he considers it as making a necessary Part of his Happiness; I ask, which is the likeliest Method of bringing him so to consider it? Is it the Reflexion of *the Innate Idea of the Loveliness of Virtue*; or the more abstracted Contemplation on its *Essential Difference* to Vice; which the Atheist can only employ himself about? Is it not rather the Belief, that the Practice of Virtue, as Religion teaches, is attended with an infinite Reward? To those Opinions, I say, an Atheist is like enough to run counter: But his Principles of Impiety, which cherish his Passions, we must never look to find at variance with his Actions: for our Adversary tells us, that the Reason why Practice and Principle so much differ, is the Violence of
human

human Appetites. From which, indeed, a plain Discourser would have drawn the direct contrary Conclusion. That then there is the greater Necessity to enforce Religion, as an additional Curb to Licentiousness; for that a Curb it is, in some measure, all Sides are agreed in. And here, at parting, it will not be amiss to observe how much this Argument enervates one of the foregoing: *There* we are made to believe that the *moral Sense* and *essential Differences* are sufficient to make Men virtuous: *Here* we are taught, that these, with the *Sanction of a Providence* to boot, cannot do it in any tolerable Degree. As to the Lives of his *Epicureans*, and other Atheists, which is the only Part of this Argument remaining untouched, we shall first desire the Reader to take notice of the Fallacy he would obtrude upon us, in the Judgment he makes of the Nature of two different Principles, by setting together their Effects, as they appear; *those of Atheism*, in the Majority of half a Score Men; *those of Religion*, in the Majority of infinite Multitudes: A KIND OF SOPHISM, WHICH SMALL SECTS IN RELIGION HAVE PERPETUALLY IN THEIR MOUTHS, WHEN THEY COMPARE THEIR OWN MORALS WITH THOSE IN LARGE COMMUNITIES, FROM WHICH THEY DISSENT: And then consider it more fully, in the Examination of his palmary Argument taken from Fact. For,

IV. In the last Place, he says^a, “ That the
 “ Lives of the several Atheists of Antiquity fully
 “ shew, that this Principle does not necessarily
 “ produce Depravity of Morals. ” He instances
 “ in *Diagoras*, *Theodorus*, *Evemerus*, *Nicanor*, and
 “ *Hippon*: Whose Virtue appeared so admirable to

^a *Pens. diver.* c. 174. & *Contin. des Pens. diver.* c. 144.

“ a Father of the Church, that he would enrich
 “ Religion with it, and make Theists of them,
 “ in spite of all Antiquity.” And then descends to
 “ *Epicurus*, and his Followers, whom their very
 “ Enemies acknowledged to be unblameable in their
 “ Actions, as the *Roman Atticus*, *Cassius*, and Elder
 “ *Pliny*.” And closes this illustrious Catalogue with
 an Encomium on the Morality of *Vanini* and *Spinoza*. But this is not all; for he tells us farther^b,
 of whole Nations of Atheists, “ which modern
 “ Travellers have discovered in the Islands or Con-
 “ tinent of *Africa* and *America*, which, in point of
 “ Morals, are rather better, than worse, than the
 “ Idolaters who live around them. It is true, that
 “ these Atheists are Savages, without Laws, Ma-
 “ gistrate, or Civil Policy: But this (he says)^c makes
 “ an Argument *à fortiori*: For if they live pea-
 “ ceably together out of Civil Society, much rather
 “ would they do so in it, where equal Laws restrain
 “ Men from Injustice.” He is so pleased with this
 Argument, that he reduces it to this Enthymeme^d:

“ Whole Nations of Atheists, divided into inde-
 “ pendent Families, have preserved themselves
 “ from time immemorial without Law.

“ Therefore, much stronger Reason have we to
 “ think they would still preserve themselves, were
 “ they under one common Master, and one com-
 “ mon Law, the equal Distributer of Rewards and
 “ Punishments.”

In answer to all this, we say (having once again
 reminded the Reader, that the Question between

^b *Contin. des Pens. div. c. 85. & c. 144.*

^c *Contin. des Pens. div. c. 118.*

^d Des Peuples Athées divisés en Familles independantes se
 sont, &c.

us is, *whether Atheism would not have a pernicious Effect on the Body of a People in Society*) 1. That as to the Lives of those Philosophers, and Heads of Sects, which Mr. Bayle hath thought fit so much to applaud, nothing can be collected from thence, in favour of the general Influence of Atheism on Morality. We will take a View of the several Motives these Men had to the Practice of Virtue: For hereby it will be seen, that not one of those Motives (peculiar to their several Characters, Ends, and Circumstances) reaches the gross Body of a People, seized with the Infection of this Principle. In *some* of them it was the *Moral Sense*, and the *Essential Difference of Things*, that inclined them to Virtue: But we have fully shewn above, that these are too weak to operate on the Generality of Mankind; though a few studious, contemplative Men, of a more refined Imagination and Felicity of Temperament, might be indeed influenced by them. In *others* it was a warm Passion for Fame and Love of Glory. But though all Degrees of Men have this Passion equally strong, yet all have it not equally delicate: So that though Reputation is what all affect, yet the gross Body of Mankind is very little solicitous from whence it arises; and Reputation, or at least the Marks of it, which is all the People aspire to, we have shewn, may be easily gained in a Road very far from the real Practice of Virtue: in which Road too the People are most strongly tempted to pursue it. Very small then is the Number of those, on whom these Motives would operate, as even *Pomponatius*, in his ample Confession taken above, hath acknowledged: And yet these are the most extensive Motives that these Philosophic Atheists had to the Practice of Virtue: For, in the *rest*, the Motive must be owned to have been less legitimate, and restrained only to their peculiar End

or Circumstances, as Concern for the Credit of that Sect they had founded, or espoused: Which they endeavoured to ennoble by this spurious Lustre. It is not easy to be conceived, how tender they were of the Honour of their Principles: The Conference between *Pompey* and *Posidonius* the Stoic, is a well-known Story^e: And if the Fear of only appearing ridiculous by their Principles were strong enough to make them do such Violence to themselves, what must we believe the Fear of becoming generally odious would do, where the Principle has a natural Tendency, as we see *Cardan* frankly confesses, to make the Holder of it the Object of publick Abhorrence? But if the Sense of Shame was not strong enough, Self-preservation would force these Men upon the Practice of Virtue: For though of old, the Magistrate gave great Indulgence to Philosophic Speculations; yet this Principle of Atheism being universally understood to be destructive to Society, he frequently let loose his severest Resentment against the Maintainers of it: So that such had no other Way to disarm his Vengeance, than by persuading him in their Lives, that the Principle had no such destructive Influence. In a word then, these Motives being peculiar to the Leaders of Sects, we see that the virtuous Practice

^e Solebat narrare *Pompeius* se, — audire voluisse *Posidonium*: sed cum audivisset eum graviter esse ægrum, quod vehementer ejus artus laborarent, voluisse tamen nobilissimum philosophum visere: quem ut vidisset, & salutavisset — molestèque se dixisset ferre quod eum non posset audire; at ille, Tu vero, inquit, potes: nec committam, ut dolor corporis efficiat, ut frustra tantus vir ad me venerit. Itaque narrabat, eum graviter & copiose de hoc ipso, nihil esse bonum, nisi quod honestum esset, cubantem disputavisse: cumque quasi faces ei doloris admoverentur, sæpe dixisse NIHIL AGIS, DOLOR: QUAMVIS SIS MOLESTUS, NUMQUAM TE ESSE CONFITEBOR MALUM. *Tusc. Disp.* l. ii. c. 25.

arising from thence makes nothing for the Point in Question.

2. But he comes much closer to it, in his next Instance; which is of whole Nations of modern Savages, who are all Atheists, and yet live more virtuously than their Idolatrous Neighbours. And their being yet unpolicied, and in a State of Nature, makes, he thinks, the Instance conclude more strongly against us. Now, to let the Truth of the Fact pass unquestioned, I shall endeavour to detect the Sophistry of his Conclusion (which I had before obviated in the second Section^f concerning the Insufficiency of human Laws alone) in a fuller Explanation of that Reasoning.

It is most notorious that Man, in Society, is incessantly giving the Affront to the Laws of the Community. To oppose which, the Community is as constantly busied in adding new Strength and Force to its Ordinances. If we enquire into the Cause of this Perverseness, we shall find it no other than the Number and Violence of the Appetites. The Appetites take their Birth from our real or imaginary Wants: Our *real* Wants are unalterably the same: Extremely few, and easily relieved; as arising only from the native Imbecillity of our Condition. Our *fantastic* Wants are infinitely numerous, to be brought under no certain Measure or Standard; and increasing exactly in Proportion to our Improvements in the Arts of Life. But the Arts of Life owe their Original to Society^g: And

^f See p. 14. ^g There is one remarkable Circumstance in the *Mosaic* History that, I should fancy, must needs give our *Free-thinkers* a high Idea either of the *Veracity* or *Penetration* of the Author. It is, where having represented *Cain* as the first who built a City, or made Advances towards Civil Society, he informs us, that his Posterity were the Inventors of the Arts of Life, in the Instances he gives of *Jabal*, *Jubal*, and *Tubal-Cain*.

the more perfect the Policy, the higher do those Improvements rise; and, with them, are our Wants, as we say, proportionably increased, and our Appetites inflamed. For the Violence of those Appetites, that seek the Gratification of our imaginary Wants, is much stronger than that raised by our real Wants: Not only because those Wants are more numerous, which gives constant Exercise to the Appetites; and more unreasonable, which makes the Gratification difficult; and altogether unnatural, to which there is no Measure; but, principally, because vicious Custom hath affixed a *Kind of Reputation* to the Gratification of the fantastic Wants, which it hath not done to the Relief of the real Ones. So that when Things are in this State, we have shewn above, that even the most provident human Restraints, without other Assistance, are insufficient. But in a State of Nature, unconscious of the Arts of Life, Mens Wants are only real; and these few, and easily supplied. For Food and Covering are all that are necessary to support our Being. And Providence is abundant in its Provisions, for these Wants: and while there is more than enough for all, it can hardly be that there should be Disputes about any one's Share.

And now the Reader sees clearly how it might well be, that this Rabble of Atheists should live peaceably in a State of Nature, though the utmost Force of human Laws, in the improved Condition of Society, could not hinder them from running into Confusion. But the Sophistry of this Enthymeme is farther seen from hence. Not Mr. *Bayle* himself would pretend, that these Atheists, who live peaceably in their present State, without the Restraint of human Laws, would live so without that Restraint, after they had understood and practised the Arts of Life in Credit amongst civil policed

licied People. In Society therefore, which the Arts of Life inseparably accompany, an imposed Curb he will own would be necessary. I then argue, If a People, who out of Society could live peaceably without the Curb of Law, cannot live peaceably without that Curb in Society; what Reason have you to believe that, though out of Society they might live peaceably without the Curb of Religion, they could live peaceably without that Curb in Society? The Answer to this must bring on again the Question, how strong the Curb on Man in Society should be; which we have fully examined in another Place. This Argument, therefore, proves nothing but the Folly of pretending to conclude, concerning Man in Society, from what we see of his Actions, out of it.

And here in Conclusion, once for all, it may not be amiss to observe, what an uniform Strain of Sophistry runs through all his Reasonings on this Head. The Question is, and I have been frequently obliged to repeat it, Mr. *Bayle* so industriously affecting to forget or mistake it, *Whether Atheism be destructive to the Body of a Society?* And yet he, whose Business is to prove the Negative, brings all his Arguments from Considerations, which either affect not the gross Body of Mankind, or affect not that Body, in Society: In a word, from the Lives of *Sophists* or *Savages*; from the Example of a few speculative Men far above the Views of the common Run of Citizens; or from *that* of a barbarous Crew of *Savages* much farther below it. All his Facts and Reasonings then being granted, they still fall short and wide of his Conclusion.

But the last Stroke of his Apology is more extravagant than all the rest: For having proved Atheism very consistent with a State of Nature, lest it should happen to be found not so consistent with Civil Society,

Society, but that one of them must rise upon the Ruins of the other, he gives a very palpable Hint which of the two he thinks should be preserved; by making it a serious Question, discussed in a set Dissertation^h, WHETHER CIVIL SOCIETY BE ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY FOR THE PRESERVATION OF MANKINDⁱ? and very gravely resolving it in the Negative.

S E C T. VI.

I Have now given, and with the best Advantage of Representation, all the Arguments Mr. *Bayle* hath employed to prove Religion not necessary to Civil Society; by which it may be seen how little the united Force of Wit and Eloquence, is able to produce for the Support of so outrageous a Paradox.

The Reader, will imagine, that now nothing could hinder us from going on to our *second* Proposition; after having so strongly supported the *first*. But we have yet to combat a still more monstrous Paradox before we can proceed.

As the great Foundation of our Proposition, *that the Doctrine of a future State of Rewards and Punishments is necessary to Civil Society*, is this, *that Religion is necessary to Civil Society*; so the Foundation of this latter Proposition is, *that Virtue is so*. Now, to the lasting Opprobrium of our Age and Country, we have seen a Writer publicly maintain, in a Book so intituled, that PRIVATE VICES were PUBLIC BENEFITS. An unheard of Impiety, wickedly advanced, and impudently avowed, against the universal Voice of Mankind: In which *moral Virtue*

^h *Contin. des Pens. div. c. 118.*

ⁱ Si les Societez sont absolument necessaires pour conserver le genre humaine.

is represented as the Invention of Knaves; and *Christian Virtue* as the Imposition of Fools: In which (that his Insult on common Sense might equal what he puts on common Honesty) he assures his Reader, that his Book is a System of most exalted Morals and Religion: And that the *Justice of his Country*, which publicly delated him, was pure Calumny.

But I will undertake, and that in very few Words, to shew the Admirers of the low impure Buffoonery and childish Rhetoric of this wordy Disclaimer, that his whole Fabric is nothing but one continued Heap of Falshoods and Absurdities.

I. *First* then, it is to be observed, that though his general Position be, *that private Vices are public Benefits*, yet in his Proof of this Point he all along explains it by *Vice only in a certain Measure, and to a certain Degree*. And, as all other Writers have deduced the Obligation on private Men in Society, to be virtuous, and on the Magistrate severely to punish Vice, from the *Malignity of the Nature of Vice*; so he enforces this Obligation, on both, from the *Malignity of its Excess*. And indeed he had been only fit for *Bedlam*, had he not seen the Necessity of his Restriction.

Now I require no more to evince the Falshood of that Assertion which his whole Book is written to support, namely, *that Vice is absolutely necessary for a rich and powerful Society*.

For whatsoever is *absolutely necessary* to the well Being of another in Matters of Morals and Politics, must be so, by its essential Properties; the Use of which Thing will be, then, in Proportion to its Degree. And this the common Moralists observe of Virtue with Regard to the State^k. But whatso-

^k The first Part of this Assertion we thus prove. If A be absolutely necessary to B, it is, because neither C, nor D, nor any
ever

ever is useful to another, only when in a certain Degree, is not so by its essential Properties; if not by its essential Properties, then, of course, by Accident only; and, if by Accident, not necessary.

From hence it will appear, that a great and powerful Community, which is, in itself, a natural Good, and as such desirable, may procure and preserve its Grandeur without Vice, though Vice so frequently contributes to it: Because the Use of Vice not arising from its essential Qualities, but from some accidental attendant Circumstance, it may be supplied by something that is not Vice attended with the same Circumstance. As for Instance, the Consumption of the Products of Art and Nature is the Circumstance that makes States Flourishing. Now if this can be found in Actions not vicious, then may a State become rich and powerful without the Assistance of Vice. That this Circumstance may, in Fact, be found in Actions not vicious, shall next be shewn.

II. The Author descending to the Enumeration of his Proofs, appears plainly to have seen, that thing but A, can supply the Wants of B. But if nothing but A can do this, it is, because the Supplial of those Wants are caused by the essential Properties of A; which essential Properties are incommunicable to all other Beings: The Communication of them to C, D, &c. making C and D the same as A, which is absurd: For if the Supplial of the Wants of B were caused by what was not essential to A, but accidental; then might the Wants of B, as well be supplied by C, D, &c. as by A; because that which is accidental only, may belong in common to several different Beings. The second Part I prove thus: *These essential Qualities can never be excessive*; Therefore that essential Quality in A, which in a lower Degree profits B, must in a higher Degree be still more useful to B. Contrariwise, accidental Qualities may be excessive; so that that accidental Quality in A, which profiteth B, in a lower degree, may injure B in a higher.

Vice

Vice, in general, was only accidentally productive of Good: and therefore avoids entering into an Examination of Particulars: But selects, out of his favourite Tribe, LUXURY, to support his execrable Paradox; and on this alone rests his Cause. By the Assistance of this ambiguous Term, he keeps something like an Argument on foot, even after he hath left all the rest of his Vices to shift for themselves. And it must be owned, there is no Word more inconstantly and capriciously applied to particular Actions, or of more uncertain Meaning, when denominating those Actions, than the Term *Luxury*. For, in the Abstract, it is, like all other moral Modes, of an exact determined Signification; and means, *the Abuse of the Gifts of Providence*. The Difficulty is only to know, what is an *Abuse*. Men have two Ways of estimating it: The one, by the *Principles of Natural Religion*; the other, by the *positive Institutions of Revealed*. Those *Principles* all Men are reasonably well agreed in; but, concerning these *Institutions*, when taken separately, and independent on those *Principles*, there are Variety of Sects and Opinions, which Superstition and Fanaticism have much embroiled: Consequently, those who estimate *Luxury* by this latter Rule, will differ extremely about it, and run into great Obscurity and Confusion: And amongst such Diversity of Opinions, it would be strange indeed, if some or other had not Ideas of *Luxury*, that would serve the most monstrous Hypothesis; and much stranger, if so corrupt a Writer did not take the Advantage of them. And now, Reader, observe the Malice and Cunning of the Man. *First*, in order to perplex and obscure our Idea of *Luxury*, he hath laboured in a previous Dissertation on *the Origin of moral Virtue*, to destroy those very Principles, by whose sole Assistance

we can clear and ascertain that Idea: Where he decries and ridicules the essential Difference of Things, the eternal Notions of Right and Wrong; and makes moral Virtue, which common Moralists deduce from thence, the Offspring only of Craft and Pride. Nothing now being left to fix the Idea of *Luxury*, but the positive Precepts of *Christianity*, and he having stript these of their only true and *infallible Interpreter*, the Principles of natural Religion, it was easy for him to bribe them to speak any Absurdities that could serve his Purpose, and as easy to find these Absurdities supported by the Superstition and Fanaticism of those many Sects and Parties of *Christianity*, who, despising the Principles of the Religion of Nature, as *the weak and beggarly Elements*, soon came to regard the natural Appetites, as the graceless Furniture of *the Old Man*, with his *Affections and Lusts*.

Having got *Christianity* at this Advantage, he empoisons all its Precepts, by giving us, for true Gospel, that commentitious Phantom raised by the Hypocrisy of *Monks*, and the Misanthropy of *Ascetics*: which cries out, *An Abuse!* wherever the Gifts of Providence are *used* farther than for the bare Support of Life. So that by this Rule every thing becomes *Luxury* which is more than *necessary*. An Idea of *Luxury* exactly fitting our Author's Hypothesis: For if no State can be rich and powerful while its Members seek only a bare Subsistence; and, if what is more than a bare Subsistence, be *Luxury*, and *Luxury* be *Vice*; the Consequence, you see, comes in pat, *private Vices are public Benefits*. Here you have the sole Issue of all this Tumour of Words. But it is hard to think, that a Writer who discovers so much Depravity of Heart, had not farther Ends in this wicked Representation of *Natural and Revealed Religion*. Who
can

can doubt that he had; when we see, he gains by it these two considerable Advantages, the fixing in his Followers a Prepossession for Vice, and a Prejudice against *Christianity*. For what can be urged stronger in Favour of Vice, than that there is really no such thing as moral Duty? What more in Discredit of *Christianity*, than that all the Enjoyments of Life are condemned by it as Vices?

III. But true *Christianity* is quite another thing than what Bigots and Fanatics are wont to represent it. It enjoins and forbids nothing in moral Practice, but what natural Religion had before enjoined and forbid. Neither indeed could it, because one of God's Revelations cannot contradict another; and because he gave us the first, to judge of all others by it. Accordingly we find, that though it be, indeed, one of the great Ends of *Christianity* (but not the main and peculiar End, as we shall shew hereafter) to advance the Practice of moral Virtue amongst Men, yet the New Testament doth not contain any regular or complete System or Digest of moral Laws: The occasional Precepts there enforced, how excellent and divine soever, arising only from the Conjectures and Circumstances that gave Birth to those preachings or Writings, in which such Precepts are delivered. For the rest, for a general Knowledge of the whole Body of moral Duty, the great Pandect of the Law of Nature is held open by them, to be searched and studied. Finally, says the Apostle Paul, *whatsoever Things are true, whatsoever Things are honest, whatsoever Things are just, whatsoever Things are lovely, whatsoever Things are of good Report, think on these Things*. But where vicious Custom, or perverse Interpreters, had depraved the Religion of Nature, there, particular Care was taken to remove the Rubbish of Time and Malice, and to

restore the injured Moralities to their primitive Simplicity and Splendor.

The *Religion of Nature*, then, being restored, and made the Rule to explain and interpret the occasional Precepts of *Christianity*; what is *Luxury* by *Natural Religion*, that, and that only, must be *Luxury* by *Revealed*. So that a true and precise Definition of it, which this Writer, triumphing in the Obscurity that, by these Arts, he hath thrown over the Term, thinks impossible to be given, so as not to suit with his Hypothesis, is easily settled. LUXURY is the using (and thereby abusing) *the Gifts of Providence, to the Injury of the User, either in his Person or Fortune; or to the Injury of any other, towards whom he stands in any Relation, which obliges him to Aid and Assistance.*

But now it is very evident, even from the Instances this Writer brings of the public Advantages of Consumption, which he indiscriminately, and therefore falsely, calls *Luxury*, that the utmost Consumption may be made, and so all the Ends of a rich and powerful Society served, without Injury to the User, or any one, to whom he stands related: Consequently without *Luxury*, and without Vice. When the Consumption is attended with such Injury, then it becomes *Luxury*, then it becomes a Vice. But then, let us take notice, that *this Vice*, like all others, is so far from being advantageous to Society, that it is the most certain Bane and Ruin of it. It was this *Luxury* that destroyed imperial *Rome*. And the very Definition given above, informs us of the Manner how; namely, by enervating the Body, debauching the Mind, beggaring the Fortune, and bringing in the Practice of universal Rapine and Injustice. But the wretched Absurdity of supposing *Luxury* beneficial to Society, cannot be better exposed, than by considering.

sidering, that, as *Luxury* is the Abusing the Gifts of Providence, to the Injury of those to whom we stand related; and as the *Public* is that, to which every Man stands nearest related; the Consequence is, that *Luxury* is, at one and the same Time, beneficial and injurious to the Public. Nor can the Absurdity I here charge upon him, be evaded by saying it is deduced from a Proposition of his, and a Definition of mine, set together: Because, however we may differ whether the Use of things, where no one is injured, be *Luxury*; yet we both agree in this, that where there is that Injury in the Use, it is *Luxury*, and *Luxury*, in this Sense, he holds to be beneficial to Society.

The Case I here put, of *Luxury's* injuring the *Public*, by depriving the State of that Aid and Assistance from Particulars, which, the Relation they stand in to it, requires them to give, is no imaginary or unlikely Supposition. This Effect of *Luxury* it was that contributed, more immediately than any other, to the Destruction of the *Roman Commonwealth*. For in the last Struggles for Liberty by a Few, against the Humour of a debauched luxurious People, when nothing but a sufficient Fund was wanting to enable those Godlike Men to restore the Republic, the richest Citizens, who yet wished well to their Country, could not be prevailed on to retrench from their private *Luxury*, to support the Public in this critical Exigency: which therefore, having been long shaken by the *Luxury* of its Enemies, fell now a Sacrifice to the *Luxury* of its Friends. Thus the great *Roman Patriot* describes the fatal Condition of those Times: *Nos habemus Luxuriam, atque Avaritiam; publice Egestatem, privatim Opulentiam.*

In a word then, it is not *Luxury*, but the Consumption of the Products of Art and Nature, which

is of so high Benefit to Society. That this latter may well be, without the former, appears plainly from the Definition given above. All the Difference is, and that a very essential one, when the *Consumption* is made without *Luxury*, infinitely greater Numbers share in it; when it becomes *Luxury*, it is confined to fewer. The Reason of this, and the different Effects this different Consumption must have on the Public, is very evident. Had the Consumption of the Commodities and Products of *Greece* when conquered, which indeed were necessary to render the *Romans* polite and wealthy, been more equally made by that People, it would have been extremely beneficial. But being unjustly claimed by one Part, exclusive of the rest¹, it became *Luxury* and Destruction. The *Roman* Historian shews us how it was brought about: *Ibi primum insuevit exercitus populi Romani amare, potare, signa, tabulas pictas, vasa cœlata mirari, ea privatim ac publice rapere, delubra spoliare, sacra profanaque omnia polluere.* Till at length,

Sævior armis

LUXURIA incubuit, victumque ulciscitur orbem.

¹ Omnia virtutis præmia ambitio possidebat.

B O O K II.

S E C T. I.

HAVING now, as we hope, fully proved our first PROPOSITION, *That the inculcating the Doctrine of a Future State of Rewards and Punishments is necessary to the well-being of Society, by Considerations drawn from the Nature of Man, and the Genius of Civil Society; and cleared it from the Objections of licentious Wits;*

I proceed to the *second*; which is, THAT ALL MANKIND, ESPECIALLY THE MOST WISE AND LEARNED NATIONS OF ANTIQUITY, HAVE CONCURRED IN BELIEVING AND TEACHING, THAT THIS DOCTRINE WAS OF SUCH USE TO CIVIL SOCIETY.

And if here we be more prolix than so clear a Case seems to require, and more frequent and exact in our Quotations from the learned Languages, than the prevailing fastidious Delicacy of Taste seems willing to allow; we hope the Discoveries attempted in several important Matters of Antiquity will excuse it: or, if not so, that, at least, the Reader will suspend his Censure, 'till he hath seen, by the Sequel of the Work, how much this Fact contributes to the momentous Conclusion I have promised to demonstrate.

I shall endeavour to prove the *Second Proposition*,

I. From the Conduct of Legislators, and Institutors of Civil Policy.

II. From the Opinions of all the Learners and Teachers of Wisdom in the Schools of ancient Philosophy.

I. FROM THE CONDUCT OF LEGISLATORS, AND INSTITUTORS OF CIVIL POLICY: who were wont to propagate and confirm Religion, wherever they established Laws; this being always first in their View, and last in their Execution. Religion was the Instrument they applied to collect together the Body Politic; and they used no other to consolidate and adorn it: They *taught* it in civilizing Man; and *established* it to prevent his Return to Barbarity and a Savage Life.

That the Magistrate, as such, hath taken the greatest Care and Pains to inculcate and preserve Religion, we shall prove at large: That this Care and Pains must arise, and was employed, on account of its confessed and experienced Utility to the State, will need no Proof.

But here it will be necessary, for the better comprehending the Force of our Demonstration, previously to remind the Reader of this material Truth, *That there never was, in any Age of the World, from the most early Accounts of Time, to this present Hour, any civil policed Nation or People, who had a Religion, of which the chief Foundation and Support was not the Doctrine of a Future State of Rewards and Punishments; the Jewish People only excepted.* This, I presume, our Adversaries will not deny. Mr. Bayle, the indulgent Foster-father of Infidelity, confesseth it in the fullest manner, and with the utmost Ingenuity: “ Toutes les Religions du monde, tant la
“ vraie que les fausses, roulent sur ce grand Pivot,
“ qu’il y a un Juge invisible qui punit & qui re-
“ compense,

“compense, *apres cette vie*, les actions de l'homme
 “tant exterieures qu'interieures. C'est de la que
 “l'on suppose que decoule la principale utilité de la
 “Religion :” And thinks, it was the Utility of
 that Doctrine which set the Magistrate upon in-
 venting a Religion for the State : “C'est le prin-
 “cipal motif qui eut animé ceux qui l'auroient in-
 “ventée^a.”

This Truth then, we beg the Reader always to have in mind : So that when, in the Sequel of this Discourse, he meets with ancient Testimonies for the Necessity of Religion to Society, he may be sure, that the Doctrine of a future State of Rewards and Punishments, was the chief Idea included in that Term. And on this Account it is, that frequently where the Ancients speak of those Utilities, which, their Nature shews, can proceed only from the Doctrine of a future State, when they come to speak of the *Cause*, they pass it under the common Name of Religion : as, on the other hand, they often call *Religion* in general by the Name of a *future State* : On which account, I have not scrupled throughout this Discourse, to use the same Liberty of applying one Term for the other, without any Apprehension of being thought not to understand my Argument, or of being misunderstood by others.

The Conclusion I would draw from hence is this, That as all Mankind think it impossible that a Religion not founded on, and supported by the Doctrine of a future State of Rewards and Punishments should subsist itself, or at least derive any kind of Influence on the People ; and consequently, when they speak of the public Utilities of Religion in general, must necessarily suppose the Doctrine of a

^a *Dict. Crit. & Hist. Art. SPINOZA. Rem. (E.)*

future State to be *mediately*, as Religion in general is *immediately* useful; that therefore when I bring the Facts and Opinions of Antiquity, which shew the Usefulness of Religion in general, to prove the Usefulness of the Doctrine of a future State in particular, I come home to the Purpose, and to the full Proof of my second Proposition.

This being so, the Reader will perceive that, had I done no more than produce *such Facts and Opinions*, I had established my Point. But besides this, the greatest Part of the present and following Books will be employed in shewing, from ancient Facts and Opinions, the more than ordinary Care and Concern of all the Wise and Learned for perpetuating the Doctrine of a future State of Rewards and Punishments in particular.

Having premised this, to prevent Mistakes, I proceed in the first Place,

1. To shew in general the Civil Magistrate's Care in this Matter.

The popular Doctrine of a Providence, and, consequently, of a future State of Rewards and Punishments, was so universally received, that throughout all Antiquity we do not find any civilized Country where it was not of national Belief. The most ancient Greek Poets, as *Musæus*^b, *Orpheus*^c, *Homer*, *Hesiod*, &c. who have given Systems of Theology and Religion, on the popular Creed of those Nations, always reckon the Doctrine of a future State of Rewards and Punishments as a fundamental Article; And all succeeding Writers have given Testimony to the same continued Plan. *Æschylus*, *Sophocles*, *Euripides*, *Aristophanes*, whose Profession it was to represent the Manners and Opinions of all civilized Nations, whether *Greeks* or

^b *Plato Rep. lib. 11.*

^c *Lucul. Vita Plutarch.*

Barbarians, are full and exprefs to the fame Purpofe. It is perpetuated in the Works of every ancient Historian and Philofopher, which it would be endless to recite. But *Plutarch*, the moft knowing of them all, is moft exprefs in this matter: “ Examine^d (fays he, in his Tract againft *Colotes* the Epicurean) “ the Face of the Globe, and you may “ find Cities unfortified, unlettered, without a regular Magiftrate, or diftinct Habitations; without “ Poffeffions, Propriety, or the Ufe of Money, “ and unskilled in all the magnificent and polite “ Arts of Life: But a City without the Knowledge “ of a God, or Religion; without the Ufe of “ Vows, Oaths, Oracles, and Sacrifices to procure “ Good, or of deprecatory Rites to avert Evil, no “ Man can or ever will find.” And in his Confolation to *Apollonius*, he declares it^e was fo ancient an Opinion that good Men fhould be recompens’d after Death, that he could not reach either the Author or Original of it. To the fame Purpofe had *Cicero* and *Seneca* declared themfelves before him, the firft in thefe Words: “^f As our innate Ideas “ difcover to us that there are Gods, whole Attributes we deduce from Reason; fo, from the “ Confent of all Nations and People, we conclude “ that the Soul is immortal.” The other thus:

^d — εὐροίς δ’ ἂν ἐπιὼν καὶ πόλεις ἀτειχίστας, ἀγραμμάτους, ἀβασιλεύτας, ἀοίκους, ἀχρημάτους, νομίσματα μὴ δεομύας, ἀπείρους θεάτρων καὶ γυμνασίων· ἀνέρες δὲ πόλεως καὶ αἰθέας, μὴ χρωμύνης δίχαῖς, μηδὲ ὄρκους, μηδὲ μαντεῖαις, μηδὲ θυσίαις ἐπ’ ἀγαθοῖς, μηδὲ ἀπειρηπαῖς κακῶν εἰδείς ἐσιν εἰδὲ ἔσται γεγονὼς θεαλῆς.

^e — Καὶ ταῦθ’ ἔτως ἀρχαῖα καὶ παλαιὰ ἀγατελεῖ νενομισμύα παρ’ ἡμῖν, ὥς τε τὸ πρῶτον εἰδείς οἶδεν εἰδὲ ἔχρονε καὶ ἀρχὴν, ἔτε τ’ ἐντα πρῶτον, ἀλλὰ τ’ ἀπειρον αἰῶνα τυγχάνουσι ἀπὸ τέλους ἔτω νενομισμύα.

^f — Ut Deos esse naturâ opinamur, qualesque sint ratione cognoscimus; sic permanere animos arbitramur consensu nationum omnium. *Tuscul. Disp.* l. i. c. 16.

“ When

“ When ^g we weigh the Question of the Immortality of the Soul, *the Consent of all Mankind, in their Fears and Hopes of a future State, is of no small Moment with us.*”

In a word, *Sextus Empiricus*, when he would discredit the Argument for the Being of a God, brought from universal Consent, observes that it would prove too much; because it would prove the Truth of the *Poetic Fables of Hell*, in which there was as general a Concurrence ^h.

But of all Nations, the *Egyptian* was most celebrated for its Care in cultivating Religion in general, and the Doctrine of a future State in particular: infomuch that one of the most ancient *Greek Historians* affirms, *They were the first who built Altars and erected Statues and Temples to the Godsⁱ, and who taught that the Soul of Man was immortal.* And *Lucian* tells us ^k, *That they were said to be the first who had the Knowledge of the Gods.* Which only amounts to this, that they were the first and wisest policied People: as will appear presently.

But to prove *the Magistrate's Care from hence*: For this Account of the Antiquity and Universality of Religion is not given to evince its Truth; for which Purpose other Writers have often and successfully employed it, but to manifest its Utility; which will be best done by shewing what Share the Magistrate had in it.

^g Cum de animarum æternitate differimus, non leve momentum apud nos habet consensus hominum, aut timentium inferos aut colentium. *Ep.* 117.

^h *Adv. Physicos*, l. 8. c. 2. *Comment.*

ⁱ — Βωμῆς τε καὶ ἀγάλματα καὶ νηὲς θεοῖσι ἀπονείμει σφέας πρῶτες. *Herod. Euterpe*, c. 4. — Πρῶτοι ὃ καὶ τόνδε τὸν λόγον Αἰγύπτιοι εἰσὶ οἱ εἰπόντες ὡς ἀνθρώπων ψυχὴ ἀθάνατός ἐστι. *Id. ib.* c. 123.

^k Πρῶτοι μὲν ἀνθρώπων Αἰγύπτιοι λέγονται θεῶν τε ἔννοιαν λαβεῖν. *De Dea Syria*, initio.

I. Now

I. Now though, as we observed, no policied Nation was ever without a Religion in general, and this Doctrine in particular; and though it was of general Belief even before Civil Policy was instituted amongst Mankind; yet were there formerly, as now there are, many Savage Nations, that, when first discovered, appeared to have long lost all Traces of Religion: A Fact which implies some extraordinary Care in the Magistrate for its Support and Preservation. For if Religion hath been supported in all Places, at all Times, and under all Circumstances, where there was a Magistrate or Civil Policy; and scarce in any Place, or under any Circumstance, where these were wanting; what other Cause than the Magistrate's Management can be assigned for such Support?

If it should be said, which, I think, is the only plausible Thing can be said, that the Reason why the Citizen had Religion, and the Savage none, might be, That, amongst the Advantages of Civil Life, the Improvement and Cultivation of the Mind is one; which necessarily brings in the Knowledge of God and Religious Observance: To this, we think it sufficient to reply, That all the national Religions of the ancient and modern Gentile World are so gross and irrational, that they could not be the Result of improved Reason; but were plainly fitted to the Capacity of Minds yet rude and uncultivated; with a Mixture of Impositions of the Magistrate's tempering, regarding the Genius of the People, and the Nature of their Government.

To give a modern Instance of what we have been saying: The *Mexicans* and *Peruvians* in the South, and the People of *Canada* in North America, were on a Level with regard to speculative Improvement; or, if there were any Advantage, the *Canadians* had it. These, when discovered, had not so much

much as the very Rudiments of a Religion : The *Mexicans* and *Peruvians* one formed and settled : but such a Religion, as discovered something worse than mere Ignorance, but never could be the Result of speculative Thinking : However a Religion it was that taught the great Articles of the Worship of a God, a Providence, and a future State. Now how happened it that these two great Empires had a Religion, and the *Canadians* none, but that their Lawgivers saw it necessary to establish and perpetuate what they found¹, for the Benefit of the State ? Which Advantage the *Canadians* wanting, they lost in Course of Time all the Footsteps of Religion. If this will not be allowed the Reason, it will be difficult to assign any. Let us suppose, according to the Objection, that *Gentile* Religion owes its Being to the improved and cultivated Mind. Now, if we make Collections from Fact, it will be found more likely that these Northern Savages should longer preserve the Notions of God, and the Practices of Religion, than the Southern Citizens, uninfluenced by their Magistrates.

The Way of Reason to come to the Knowledge of a superior Being, adapted to the common Capacities of Mankind, is that very easy one, the Contemplation of the Works of Nature : For this Employment, the Savage would have fitter Opportunities afforded by his vacant sedentary Life ; and by his constant View of Nature, in every Part naked and unsophisticated ; which all his Travel and Amusements perpetually presented to him. The *Comte de Boulainvilliers*, a Writer by no means prejudiced in favour of Religion, gives this very Reason why the *Arabians* preserved so long, and with so much Purity, their Notions of the Divinity^m.

¹ See Book III. Sect. 6. II. 1. and pag. antepenult.

^m *La Vie de Mahamed*, p. 147. Ed. Amst. 1731. Je reviens
On

On the other hand, every Thing of Nature, by which we come to the Knowledge of a first Cause, would be quite hid from the Southern Citizen, bu-
fied in the Works of barbarous Arts, and inhuman
Inventions; and taken up with the slavish Attend-
ance on a cruel Tyrant.

Nor, if we may credit the Relations of Travel-
lers, do the Northern People any more neglect to
exercife their rational Faculties than the Southern:
It is constant, they are observed to have better In-
tellects than those nearer the Sun: which, being
owing to the Influence of Climes, is experienced
to hold all round the World. Notwithstanding this,
the Issue proved juft the contrary; and, as we faid
the *Peruvians* and *Mexicans* had a Religion, the
Canadians none at all.

Who then can doubt that this was owing to the
Care and Contrivance of the Magiftrate? But in-
deed (which was the Reason why I preferred this
Instance) Matter of Fact confirms our Reasoning.
The Founders of thefe two Monarchies pretended
to be the Messengers and Offspring of the Gods;
and, in the manner of the *Grecian*, and other Le-
gisflators, of whom more hereafter, pretended to
Inspiration, eſtabliſhed Religion, and conſtituted a
Form of Worſhip.

II. But not only the *Exiſtence*, but the *Genius*
too of Religion, ſhews the Magiftrate's Hand in its
Support.

First, As to the *Nature* of their Gods.

Secondly, The *Attributes* aſſigned to them; and

Thirdly, The *Mode of Worſhip* in civil Uſe.

First, The Idolatry of the Gentile States was
chiefly the Worſhip of dead Men; and theſe, Kings,

volontiers à la louange de la folitude des Arabes — elle a conſervé
chez eux plus longtems, & avec moins de mélange, le ſentiment
naturel de la veritable Divinité, &c.

Legif-

Legislators, and Founders of Civil Policy. That this was the Magistrate's Manufacture is evident from the Benefit resulting to the State both from their *Consecration* and the *Worship*. For, 1. What could be a greater Excitement to Virtue in Governors, than to be assured, that the Public Benefits, which they should invent, improve or preserve, would be rewarded with an Immortality of Fame and Glory? *Cicero* gives this as the very Reason of the Apotheosis. "It may be easily understood, that the Reason, why most Cities prosecuted the Memory of their valiant Men with divine Honours, was to spur up their Citizens to Virtue, that every the most deserving of them might encounter Dangers with the greater Willingness for the sake of his Country. This was the very Inducement the *Athenians* had to deify *Eretheus* and his Daughters".

2. What could make the People so observant of their Civil Institutions, as a Belief that the Makers, Framers, and Administrators of them were become Gods; and did dispense a peculiar Providence in their Protection and Support?

But the sure Records of Antiquity support our Argument. The *Egyptians* were the first People that perfected Civil Policy, and established Religion: And they were the first too that deified their Kings, Lawgivers and Publick Benefactors^o: As

ⁿ Atque adeo in plerisque civitatibus intelligi potest, acuendæ virtutis gratiâ, quo libentiùs reipublicæ causa periculum adiret optimus quisque, virorum fortium memoriam honore deorum immortalium consecratam. Ob eam enim ipsam causam *Eretheus* Athenis filiæque ejus in numero deorum sunt. *Nat. Deor.* l. iii. c. 19.

^o "Αλλας δ' ἐκ τῶν ἐπιγείων θεῶν φασὶν, ὑπάρχοντας μὲν θεοῖς, ἀλλὰ ὅς σῴεσιν καὶ κοινῶς ἀνθρώπων ἀερίσειαν τετυχηκότας τῇ ἀθανασίᾳ· ὧν ὁμίας καὶ βασιλεῖς γεγονέναι κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον. *Diod. Sic.* l. i. p. 8. *Steph. Ed.* Voiez aussi lettres à Mr. H. sur les premiers Dieux ou Rois d'Égypte. Par. 1733.

we may collect from the Passage of *Herodotus*, quoted above, which says, *they were the first who built Altars, and erected STATUES and Temples to the Gods*. For the erecting *Statues* was by this Historian esteemed a certain Mark that the Worshippers believed the Gods had *human Natures*: As appears from the Reason he gives why the *Persians* had no *Statues* of their Gods, namely, *because they did not believe as the Greeks, that the Gods had human Natures*^p, that is, were dead Men deified: A Practice, as we say, invented by the *Egyptians*; who, in Process of Time, taught the rest of the World their Trade^q. So when Arts and Civil Policy were brought into *Greece* by *Cadmus* and *Ceres* (the first, though a *Phenician* by Birth, being an Inhabitant of *Thebes* in *Egypt*; the other, though coming immediately from *Sicily*, being yet a natural *Egyptian*) then, and not 'till then, began the Custom of deifying dead Men; which soon over-ran all *Greece* and the rest of *Europe*^r.

^p Ὡς ἔμοι δοκεῖν, ὅτι οὗκ ἀνθρωποφυέας ἐνόμισον τὰς θεάς, καθάπερ οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἔειπεν. *Clio* c. 131. *Valla* explains the Word ἀνθρωποφυέας by *ex hominibus ortos*; and, I think, rightly. But our learned *Stanley*, in his Notes to the *Persians* of *Æschylus*, thinks otherwise: and that it rather signifies *humana forma præditos*. I suppose it appeared harsh to him, that any one could imagine the Gods had human Natures; but the Meaning is explained above. That *Statues* of the Gods in human Form were an Indication of their Original from Mortality, was so evident in the Opinion of *Eusebius*, that he says, ὁ γέ τοι ἀληθὴς λόγος βοᾷ καὶ κέκραγε, μονονυχὶ φωνῶν ἀφιεῖς, θνητὸς ἄνδρας μαρτυρῶν γεγονέναι τὰς δηλαδὴ μύθους. *Εὐαγγ.* περὶ παρ. β. γ.

^q Προδιαρθεῶσαι δὲ ἀναγκαῖον πρὸς τὴν αὐτὴν σαφηνείαν, καὶ τὴν κτ' μέντοι ἀξιόλογον, ὅτι οἱ παλαιότατοι τῶν βαρβάρων, ἐξαιρέτως δὲ Φοίνικες τε καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι, παρ' ὧν καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ παρέλαβον ἀνθρώποι, θεὰς ἐνόμιζον μεγίστας τὰς τὰ πρὸς τὴν βιολικὴν χρῆσαν δύσθυνας, ἢ καὶ κτ' τι εὖ ποιήσαντας τὰ ἔθνη· δεικνύοντας τε τὰς καὶ πολλῶν αἰτίων ἀγαθῶν ἡγεμόνοι, ὡς θεὰς προσεκυῶν. *Philo Bib. apud Euseb. Præp. Evang.* l. ii. c. 9.

^r The great Sir *Isaac Newton*, who, probably, had not this

2. *As to the Attributes and Qualities assigned to their Gods*: These always corresponded with the Nature and Genius of the Civil Government. If this was gentle, benign, compassionate, and forgiving; Goodness and Mercy made up the Essence of the Deity: But if severe, inexorable, captious, or unequal; the very Gods were Tyrants, and Expiations, Atonements, Lustrations, and bloody Sacrifices composed the System of religious Worship^s.

3. *As to the Mode of Worship in Civil Use*: The *Object* of that we call *Religion* being God, considered as the Creator and Preserver of a Species of rational Beings; it is plain, the *Subject* of it is each Individual of that Species. This is that true Idea of Religion, which common Reason discovers to us. But now, in ancient Paganism, *Religion* was a very different Thing: It had for its *Subject* not only each Individual, the *natural Man*, but likewise the *artificial Man*, Society; by whom, all the *public Rites* and Ceremonies of it were instituted and performed. And while that Part of Pagan Religion, whose *Subject* were Individuals, bore an inferior Part, and was confessed to be under an unequal Providence,

Matter in his Thoughts, hath yet a remarkable Passage to our Purpose in his *Chronology of the Greeks*: “ Idolatry (says he) began in *Chaldaea* and *Egypt*. — The Countries upon the *Tigris* and the *Nile* being exceeding fertile, were first frequented by Mankind, and grew first into Kingdoms; and THEREFORE began first to adore their dead Kings and Queens: — Every City set up the Worship of its own Founder and Kings, and by Alliances and Conquests they spread this Worship, and at length the *Phenicians* and *Egyptians* brought into *Europe* the Practice of deifying the Dead.”
Pag. 161.

^s “ Gods partial, changeful, passionate, unjust,
“ Whose Attributes were Rage, Revenge, or Lust,
“ Such as the Souls of Cowards might conceive,
“ And form'd like Tyrants, Tyrants would believe.

Mr. POPE.

which

which brought in the Doctrine of a future State for its Support ; the other, whose Subject was the Society, taught a more equal Providence, administered to the *artificial Man*. The Consequence of which was, that Religion held the Government in Partnership ; and nothing was consulted or executed without Advice of the Oracle. Judgments, Prodigies, and Portents were as familiar as Civil Edicts ; and as constantly bore their Share in the public Administration : For they were always considered as national Directions ; either declarative of divine Favour, or denouncing impending Punishment ; in which Particulars, as such, were not at all concerned : So that to accept or avert the Omen, to gratulate the Mercy, or deprecate the Judgment, the constant Method was the Revival of old Rites, or the Institution of new ones. A Regulation of Manners, or the Establishment of sumptuary Laws never made Part of the State's Atonement to the Gods.

The Odness and Notoriety of this Fact struck Mr. Bayle ; so that imagining this more public Part to be the whole of Paganism, he too hastily concluded, that *the Worship of false Gods in the ancient World, did not at all influence Morals*^t : And from thence formed an Argument to support his favourite Question in behalf of Atheism. This was a strange Extreme : For though it be indeed true, that this Part of Pagan Religion had no Influence on Morals, it is utterly false that the other Part of it, whose Subject was Individuals, had not : For in the Doctrine of a future State, which was the Foundation of, and inseparable from, this founder Part of Pagan Religion, the Merit and Demerit, to which Re-

^t *Pensées diverses sur une Comete, &c. And Réponse aux Questions d'un Provincial. And Continuation des Pensées diverses, &c.*



wards and Punishments were annexed, were Virtue and Vice only. This will be proved at large in the fourth Section of the present Book: Though I am far from denying, that the Nature of the *public* Part of Pagan Religion did lead Individuals, in the *private* Part of it, into many wrong Conclusions, concerning the Efficacy of *exterior* Acts of Religion.

But what seems to have occasioned Mr. *Bayle's* Mistake (besides his following the Fathers, who in their *Declamations* against Paganism have said a great deal to the same Purpose^v) was his not reflecting that ancient History^w, the Repository of

^v St. *Austin* himself cannot but own that the *Mysteries* were principally instituted for the Promotion of Virtue and a good Life, even where he is accusing *Paganism* for its Neglect of moral Virtue: “Nec nobis nescio quos susurros paucissimorum
“auribus anhelatos & arcana velut Religione traditos jactent,
“quibus vitæ probitas castitasque discatur.” — *Civ. Dei*, l. ii. c. 6. — “Iidem ipsi Dæmones — perhibentur in adytis suis,
“secretisque penetralibus dare quædam bona præcepta de moribus quibusdam velut electis sacratis suis — Proinde malignitas
“dæmonum nisi alicubi se, quemadmodum scriptum in nostris litteris novimus, transfiguret in angelos lucis, non implet negotium deceptionis. Foris itaque populis celeberrimo strepitu impietas impura circumsonat, & intus paucis castitas simulata vix sonat: præbentur propatula pudendis, & secreta laudandis: decus latet, & dedecus patet,” &c. c. 26.

^w What we have said above of the Genius of Paganism well accounts for a Circumstance in ancient History, that very much embarrasses the Critics. They cannot conceive how it happened, that the best ancient Historians, who understood so well what belonged to the Nature of Composition, and how to give every Sort of Work its due Form, and were besides so free from all vulgar Superstition, should so much abound in Descriptions of Religious Rites and Ceremonies; and in Relations of Omens, Prodigies, and Portents. Many a ridiculous Hypothesis has been framed to give a Solution of this Difficulty; and many a tedious Work been compiled to justify these ancient Historians, upon mere modern Ideas. But now a plain and easy Answer may be given to this Difficulty. This Part of *Pagan* Religion was so interwoven with public Transactions, that it became *essential* to Civil History.

what

what concerns the public Part of *Pagan* Religion, only represents one Part of the Influence of Paganism, that which it had on the Public as a Body. The other Part, the Influence it had on Individuals, it passes over in Silence as not its Province. But to return.

Whoever now considers the Genius of Paganism in this View, and whoever hath considered it at all, must be struck with this View, can no longer doubt that the Civil Magistrate had a great Hand in modelling *Religion*. What it was that enabled him to give this extraordinary Cast to Paganism, is not hard to discover. It could be no other than that popular Disposition arising from, and the necessary Consequence of those general Notions, which, by his Invention and Encouragement, had overspread the Heathen World. 1. That there were local tutelary Deities, who had taken upon themselves, or had intrusted to them, the Care and Protection of particular Nations and People: Of which, more hereafter. 2. That those great Benefactors of Mankind, who had reduced the scattered Tribes and Clans into Civil Society, were become Gods. 3. And lastly, That their Systems of Laws and Civil Institutes were planned and digested by the Direction of the Legislator's Patron Deity^x.

On the whole then, These Considerations of the *Preservation of Religion* in general, of the *Nature and Attributes of the Gods*, and the *Mode of public Worship*, will, I am persuaded, incline the Reader to think that, for the *Universality of Religion*, the World was much indebted to the Civil Magistrate; how much soever the illegitimate or unnatural Constitution of particular States, or the defective Views of particular Lawgivers, may have

^x See the Beginning of the next Section.

contributed to deprave the true Religion of Nature; or, if you will, the Patriarchal. The learned St. *Austin*, whose Master-piece was his Knowledge of Antiquity, seems to have been swayed by this way of thinking, when he gives it, as the Result of his Enquiries; that the Civil Magistrate had a large Share in Pagan Superstition. His Words are^y,
 “ — Which indeed seems to have been done on no
 “ other Account but as it was the Business of
 “ Princes, out of their Wisdom and civil Prudence,
 “ to deceive the People in their Religion — Princes
 “ persuaded the People, under Pretence of Religion,
 “ to believe those things true which they themselves
 “ knew to be idle Fables. By this means tying
 “ them the more closely to Civil Society, that they
 “ might govern them the more easily.

But if now it should be objected against all this, that it was natural for the People, left to themselves, to run into *any* of these Superstitions, we may well allow it without Prejudice to our Argument: For they are always Notions apt to be entertained and cherished by vulgar Minds, whose Current the wise Magistrate is accustomed and practised to turn to his Advantage. For to think him capable of new modelling the human Mind, by *making* Men religious whom he did not *find* so, is, as shall be shewn hereafter, a senseless Whimsy, whereby the Atheists would account for the Origin of Religion. And, when it is seen that all these various Modes of Superstition concur to promote the Magistrate's End, it can hardly be doubted that he gave them

^y Quod utique non aliam ob causam factum videtur, nisi quia hominum principum velut prudentium & sapientium negotium fuit populum in religionibus fallere — Homines principes ea, quæ vana esse noverant, religionis nomine populis tanquam vera suadebant: Hoc modo eos civili societati velut arctius alligantes, quo subditos possiderent. *De Civit. Dei*, l. iv. c. 32.

that general Direction. But the particular Parts of *Gentile* Religion, which farther strengthen and confirm this Reasoning, we shall not here insist upon. Their Original will be clearly discovered, when we come to shew the several Methods employed by the Magistrate for this great Purpose. What these Methods were, the Course of our Argument now leads us to consider.

S E C T. II.

WE have shewn in general, from the *Effect*, that Lawgivers and Founders of Civil Policy did indeed use many Arts for the Support and Propagation of Religion. We shall now endeavour to explain the Causes of that *Effect*, in a particular Enumeration of those Arts.

I. The first Step the Legislator took, was to pretend an extraordinary Revelation from some God; by whose Command and Direction he framed the Policy he would establish. Thus *Amasis* and *Mneves*, Lawgivers of the *Egyptians* (from whence this Custom spread over *Greece* and *Asia*) pretended to receive their Laws from *Mercury*; *Zoroaster* the Lawgiver of the *Bactrians*, and *Zamolxis* Lawgiver of the *Getes*, from *Vesta*; *Zathraustes* the Lawgiver of the *Arimaspi*, from a good Spirit or Genius; and all these most industriously and professedly propagated the Doctrine of a future State of Rewards and Punishments. *Rhadamanthus* and *Minos* Lawgivers of *Crete*, and *Lycaon* of *Arcadia*, pretended to an Intercourse with *Jupiter*; *Triptolemus* Lawgiver of the *Athenians*, affected to be inspired by *Ceres*; *Pythagoras*, and *Zaleucus*, who made Laws for the *Crotoniates* and *Locrians*, ascribed their In-

stitutions to *Minerva*; *Lycurgus* of *Sparta*, professed to act by the Direction of *Apollo*; and *Romulus* and *Numa* of *Rome* put themselves under the Guidance of *Consus*, and the Goddess *Egeria*^z. In a word, there is scarce an old Lawgiver on record, but what thus pretended to Revelation, or divine Assistance. But had we the lost Books of *Legislators* written by *Hermippus*, *Theophrastus*, and *Apollodorus*^a, we should doubtless have received great Lights on this Subject, and a much fuller List of these inspired Statesmen. The same Method was practised by the Founders of the great outlying Empires, as Sir *William Temple* calls them. Thus the first of the *Chinese* Monarchs was called *Fagfour* or *Fanfur*, the *Son of Heaven*, as we are told by the *Jesuits*, from his Pretensions to that Relation. The royal Commentaries of *Peru* inform us, that the Founders of that Empire were *Mango Copac*, and his Wife and Sister *Coya Mama*, who proclaimed themselves the Son and Daughter of the *Sun*, and sent from their Father to reduce Mankind from their *Savage* Bestial Life to one of Order and Society. *Thor* and *Odin*, the Lawgivers of the *Western Goths*, pretended likewise to Inspiration and even Divinity^b. The *Revelations* of *Mahomet* are too well known to be insisted on. But the Race of these inspired Law-

^z *Diod. Sic.* l. 1. & 5. *Ephorus* apud *Strabonem*, l. 10. — *Teste veteri Scriptore apud Suidam* in [*Λυκάων*] — *Arist.* apud *Schol. Pind.* ad 10. *Olymp.*

^a *Athen.* l. 14. *D. Laertius.*

^b *Olim* quidam magicæ artis imbuti, *Thor* videlicet & *Othinus*, obtentis simplicium animis, divinitatis sibi fastigium arrogare cœperunt. — Adeo namque fallaciæ eorum effectus percrebuit, ut in ipsis cæteri quandam numinum potentiam venerantes, eosque deos, vel *deorum complices* autumantes veneficiorum auctoribus solennia vota dependerent, & errori sacrilego respectum sacris debitum exhiberent. *Saxo-Gram.* l. 6. *Histor.*

givers seems to have ended in *Genghizcan* the Founder of the *Mogul Empire* ^c.

Such was the universal Custom of the ancient World, to make of their first Kings and Lawgivers Gods or Prophets. Hence I suppose it is that the constant Epithets to Kings, in *Homer*, are ΔΙΟΓΕΝΕΙΣ *born of the Gods*, and ΔΙΟΤΡΕΦΕΙΣ *bred, or tutored by the Gods*.

From this general Pretence to Revelation we may learn the Sentiments of the ancient Lawgivers concerning the Use of Religion to Society. For we must always have in mind what *Diodorus Siculus* so truly observes, *That they did this, not only to beget a Veneration to their Laws, but likewise to establish the Opinion of the Superintendency of the Gods over human Affairs* ^d. One may venture to go farther, and say that this latter was their principal and direct Aim, in all their Pretensions to Inspiration.

The Reader may observe, that *Diodorus* does not so much as suspect their having a third End,

^c Ils ont attribué des Revelations à *Genghizcan*; & pour porter la veneration des peuples aussi loin qu'elle pouvoit aller, ils lui ont donné de la divinité. Ceux qui s'interessent à son elevation eurent même l'insolence de le faire passer pour fils de Dieu. Sa mere plus modeste, dit seulement qu'il estoit fils du Soleil. Mr. *Petis de la Croix* le pere *Histoire du Genghizcan*, c. 1.

^d Μετὰ γὰρ τὴν παλαιὰν ἔκαστος κατ' Αἴγυπτον βίαν κατέλασεν, τὴν μυθολογικὴν γένεσιν ἐπὶ τῇ θεῶν καὶ τῇ ἡρώων, περὶ τῶν παλαιῶν ἀνθρώπων νόμοις χρῆσασθαι τὰ πλήρη βίαν τὴν Μινώην, ἀνδρα καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ μέγα καὶ τῷ βίῳ κοινότατον τὴν μνημονευομένην, προσποιηθῆναι ὅτι αὐτῶν τὴν ἑρμηνείαν δεδωκέναι τέχνην, ὡς μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν αἰτίαι ἐσομένης· καθάπερ παρ' Ἑλλήσι ποιεῖται φασὶν ἐν μὲν τῇ Κρήτῃ Μίνωα, ὧσα ἡ Λακεδαιμονίοις Λυκάργον· τὴν μὲν ὧσα Διὸς, τὴν δὲ παρ' Ἀπόλλωνος φήσαντα τέχνην εἰληφέναι· καὶ παρ' ἑτέροις δὲ πλείοσιν ἔθνεσι ὧσα δέδοται τὸ τοιοῦτον τὴν ἐπινοίαν ὑπάρχειν, καὶ πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν αἰτίαν ἡγεῖσθαι τοῖς περὶ αὐτοὺς.

— εἴτε καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὑπεροχὴν καὶ δυνάμιν τῶν δεινῶν λεγομένων, τῶν νόμων ἀποβλέψαντες τὸν ὄχλον, μᾶλλον ὑπακῶσεως ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν.

L. 1.

distinct from these two; that is to say, the Advancement of their own private Interest. And this with great Judgment. He knew well the Difference between ΝΟΜΟΘΕΤΗΣ and ΤΥΡΑΝΝΟΣ, between a Legislator and a Tyrant. Such Views became not the former; they destroyed his Character, and changed him into his direct Opposite; who applied every Thing to his own Interest, and this amongst the rest. *Aristotle*, in his Maxims for setting up, and supporting a Tyranny, lays this down for one, *To appear to be extremely attached to the Worship of the Gods, for that Men have no Apprehension of Injustice from such as they take to be religious, and to have a high Sense of Providence. Nor will the People be apt to run into Plots and Conspiracies against those, whom they believe the Gods will, in their turn, fight for, and support*^e. And here it is worth noting, that, anciently, Tyrants, as well as Legislators, gave all Encouragement to Religion; and endeavoured to establish their irregular Wills, not by convincing Men that there was no Just nor Unjust in Actions; but by persuading them that the Privilege of *divine Right* exempted the Tyrant from all moral Obligation. Hence may be seen the Ridicule of *Hobbes's* Scheme of Politics, who, for the sake of the Magistrate, was for eradicating all Religion. But the Ancients knew better; and so too did some of the Moderns^f.

The Question then is, whether these Pretensions of the ancient Lawgivers were on Account of the

^e Ἐτι δὲ τὰ πρὸς τὰς θεὰς φαίνομαι αἰὲν ἀπεδάξοντα ἀλαφρογνῶντας, ἡττοῦ τε γὰρ φοβῆναι, τὸ παθεῖν τι ἀδύνατον ὑπὸ τῶν τοιούτων, εἰάν δεσποδαίμονα νομίζωσιν ἢ τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ φρονησιν τῶν θεῶν καὶ ἐπιβουλεύσων ἡττοῦ, ὡς συμμάχους ἔχοντες καὶ τὰς θεὰς. *Polit.* l. 5. c. 11.

^f Et non è cosa più necessaria à parere d'havere che questa ultima qualita [religione] perche gli huomini in universale giudicano piu a gli occhi che alle mani, perche tocca à vedere a ciascuno a sentire à pochi. *Machiaval del Principe*, c. 18.

civil Policy *immediately*, or on Account of Religion; and so *mediately* only for the State? For we must observe that all here represented as contrived and done by the Magistrate in behalf of Religion, was not done *ultimately* for the sake of that, but of the Government. The Question, I say, then is, Whether this Pretence to Inspiration was made to introduce a *Civil* or a *Religious* Society? If a *Civil*, the Effects aimed at must be *Reception for his Policy and Laws*, or Secondly, *their Perpetuity*. I speak not here of that third Effect, *the procuring a Veneration and stricter Observance of them from Individuals, during the Course of their Establishment*: And for good Reason, because *this* is the very Thing I contend for, such *Veneration and Observance* being only to be procured by the Influence of Religion, which the pretended Inspiration introduces. The Effects then in Question, are *Reception for the Policy and Laws, or perpetuating their Observance*.

1. For their *Introduction* and *Reception* there would be small need of this Expedient. 1. Civil Laws are seen by all to be so necessary for the well being of every Individual, that one can hardly conceive any need of the Belief of divine Command or Assistance to bring Men to embrace a Scheme for associating, or to establish the Right they have of so doing. For (as the great Geographer says) *Man was born with this Inclination to associate. It is an Appetite common both to Greeks and Barbarians: for being by Nature a Civil Animal, he lives readily under one common Policy or Law* &c. 2. And though it might possibly have happened to a People to be so far sunk into Brutality, as to be backward in their Dispositions to recover a reasonable Nature, like

ὃ Πέφυκε γὰρ ἔγω. Καὶ κοινόν ἐστὶ τὸτο καὶ τοῖς Ἕλλησι καὶ τοῖς βαρβάροις· πολιτικοὶ γὰρ ὄντες, ἀπὸ προσηγάμεθα κοινὴ ζῶσιν.
Strabo Geogr. l. 16.

those with whom it is said *Orpheus* had to deal, *Whom being Savages, without the Knowledge of Morality or Law*, he reduced into Society, by recommending to them *Piety to the Gods*, and by teaching them the *Ways of Superstition*^h; yet this was not the Case of most of those with whom these Lawgivers had to do: And therefore if we would assign a Cause of their Pretence to Revelation as extensive as the Fact, it must be that here contended for. Besides, several of these Legislators gave Laws to a willing People, on the Strength of their Personal Character of Virtue and Wisdom; and were called upon to that Office, in which nothing was wanting to beget all necessary Veneration. Again, we find, in Fact, that, where Religion was thoroughly settled, there no Inspiration was pretended to. On this Account it was that both those Lawgivers of *Athens*, *Draco* and *Solon* pretermitted it. For they found Religion well secured by the Institutions of *Triptolemus* and *Ion*. And we know, that had pretended Inspiration been only, or principally, for the easier Introduction and Reception of Civil Policy, the sanguinary Laws of *Draco* had stood in more need of the Sanction of a Revelation, than any other of Antiquity.

Indeed, *Maximus Tyrius* goes so far as to say, that these Legislators prescribed nothing in their Laws, concerning the Gods, and their Worshipⁱ; which, if true, would make as much against our general Position on the other hand. But in this he is egregiously mistaken. *Porphyry* quotes an

^h ——— Ὅτι θηριώδεις ὄντας τὰς ἀνθρώπους, καὶ ἔτε ἔθνη, ἔτε νόμους εἰδότες, εἰς δεισιδαιμονίαν ἀγαγόν, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ δούσεβειν ὠδῶν καλέσας. *Heraclit. de Incred.* c. 23.

ⁱ Συμμεναι, τί μὲν τὸ δαιμόνιον, πῶς δὲ τιμητέον; καὶ γὰρ τὰς κυάμας λαχόντες δικασαὶ χίλιοι ταῦτα ἐξελάττωσιν, καὶ δὲ Σόλων τί ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν γέγραφε, καὶ δὲ οἱ Δράκοντος σεμνοὶ νόμοι. *Dissert.* 39.

express Law of Draco's concerning the Mode of divine Worship. *Let the Gods and our own Country Heroes be publickly worshipped, according to the established Rites; when privately, according to each one's Abilities, with Terms of the greatest Regard and Reverence; with the first Fruits of their Labours, and with annual Libations*^k. Andocides^l quotes another of Solon, which provides for the due and regular Celebration of the *Eleusinian Mysteries*. *Athenæus* does the same. And how considerable a Part these were of divine Worship, and of what Importance to the very Essence of Religion, we shall see hereafter.

2. *As to the perpetuating their Institutions, and rendering them immutable;* This entered not into the Intention of the old Grecian Legislation; nor, if it had, could it have been obtained by giving them a divine Original. A System of immutable Laws might indeed be the wild Project of Eastern Policy; but the Grecian Lawgivers were too well acquainted with the Nature of Mankind, the Genius of Society, and the ceaseless Vicissitude of human Things, ever to conceive a Project so absurd, so ridiculous a Design. Besides, the *Egyptian* Legislation, from which they borrowed all their civil Wisdom, went upon very different Principles. It directed public Laws to be occasionally accommodated to the Va-

^k Θεοὶ τιμᾶν καὶ Ἡρώας ἐλχούσας ἐν κοινῇ, ἐπομόρως νόμοις πα-
τεροῖς, ἰδίᾳ καὶ δυνάμιν σὺν δούλῳ καὶ ἀπαρχαῖς καρπῶν, καὶ πε-
λάγοις ἐπελείοις. *De Abst.* l. 4. § 22. According to the Emen-
dations of *Petit* and *Valentinus*. — The Law is thus introduced,
Θεσμὸς αἰώνιος τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, Κύριος τῇ ἀπαντα χρόνον.
I have translated *πατέροις*, *established*, and, I think, rightly. In
a Passage of *Isocrates* it can hardly be understood in any other
Sense; in his *Encomium on Hellen* he speaks thus of her and
Menelaus: Ἐν Θεοῖσι καὶ Λακωνικῇς θυσίας αὐτοῖς ἀγίαι καὶ ΠΑ-
ΤΡΙΟΥΣ ἐπιτελέσων, ὥς ἡρώων, ἀλλ' ὥς θεοῖς ἀμφοτέροις ἔσιν.

^l *Orat.* Περὶ Μυστηρίων *apud Decem Orat.*

riety of Times, Places, and Manners. But had they aimed at Perpetuity, the Belief of a divine Imposition would not have served the Purpose. For it never entered the Heads of those ancient People, that Civil Institutions became irrevocable by their issuing from the Mouth of a God; or that the Divinity of the Sanction altered the Mutability of their Nature. The Honour of this Discovery is due to certain modern Writers, who have found out that divine Authority reduces all its Commands to one and the same Species. A notable Instance we have of this Truth in the Conduct of *Lycurgus*. He was the only Exception to the general Method of *Grecian* Legislation, and single in the ridiculous Attempt of making his Laws perpetual. For his whole System of Politics being strained and unnatural, the Sense of that Imperfection, it is probable, put him upon the Expedient of tying them on an unwilling People. But did he employ divine Authority to this Purpose? Not at all: For though he pretended to it, like the rest, and had his Revelations from *Apollo*, yet he well knew that *that* Authority would not be thought sufficient to change the Nature of positive Laws: And therefore he bound the People by an Oath to observe his Policy, till his Return from a Voyage, which he had determined beforehand never to accomplish.

Having shewn that there was no need of a Pretence to Revelation, for the Establishment of *Civil Policy*, it follows, that it was made for the sake of *Religion*.

S E C T. III.

THE second Step the Legislators took to propagate *Religion*, was by making the Doctrine of a Providence, with which in its full Extent, they prefaced

prefaced and introduced their Laws, the grand Sanction of their Institutions. To this, *Plutarch*, in his Tract against *Colotes* the *Epicurean*, refers, where he says, that *Colotes* himself praises it; that, in civil Institutes, the first and most momentous Article is the Belief of the Gods. And so it was that, with Vows, Oaths, Divinations, and Omens, *Lycurgus* sanctified the *Lacedemonians*, *Numa* the *Romans*, ancient *Ion* the *Athenians*, and *Deucalion* all the *Greeks* in general: And by HOPES and FEARS kept up amongst them the Awe and Reverence of Religion^m. On this Practice was formed the Precept of the celebrated *Archytas* the *Pythagorean*. Which Sect, as we shall shew hereafter, gave itself up more particularly to Legislation; and produced the most famous Founders of Civil Policy. This Lawgiver in the Fragments of his Work *de Lege*, preserved by *Stobæus*, delivers himself in this Manner: The first Law of the Constitution should be for the Support of what relates to the Gods, the Demons, and our Parents, and, in general, of whatsoever is good and venerableⁿ. And in this Manner, if we may believe Antiquity, all their Civil Institutes were prefaced. Its constant Phrase being, when speaking of a Legislator, διεκόσμει τὴν πολιτείαν ἀπὸ Θεῶν ἀρχόμενος.

The only Things of this Kind now remaining, are the Prefaces to the Laws of *Zaleucus* and *Charondas*, Lawgivers of the *Locrians*, and of the

^m — Ἀλλὰ μὲν ἥ γε καὶ Κολώτης ἐπαινῇ ἀγαθότητος τῶν νόμων πρῶτόν ἐστιν ἢ πρὸς Θεῶν δόξα, καὶ μέγιστον· ἢ καὶ Λυκῦργος Λακεδαιμονίους, καὶ Νεμῆας Ῥωμαίους, καὶ Ἴων ὁ παλαιὸς Ἀθηναίους, καὶ Δευκαλίων Ἕλληνας ὁμῶς τοὺς πάντας καθωσίωσαν, οὐχ αἶς, καὶ ὄρκοις, καὶ μνηστέμασι, καὶ φήμασι, ἐμπαθεῖς πρὸς τὰ θεῖα δι' ἐλπίδων αἶμα καὶ φόβων καλῶς ἡσανίτες.

ⁿ Δεῖ τὸν νόμον τὰ πρὸς θεῶν καὶ δαίμονας καὶ γονέας, καὶ ὅλως τὰ καλὰ καὶ τίμια πρῶτα τίθεσθαι. *Stob. de Rep. Serm. 41.*

Chalcidic Cities of *Italy* and *Sicily*, Contemporaries with *Lycurgus*^o. These, by good Fortune, are preserved by *Diodorus* and *Stobæus*. A great Critic has indeed called their Authority in Question; declared them spurious; and adjudged them an Imposture of the *Ptolemaic* Age^p. Now was it as he supposes, these Fragments would be rather stronger for our Purpose. For, in that Case, we must needs suppose the very learned Sophists, who forged them, had copied from the general Practice of Antiquity: And very learned they were, appears both from the Excellence of the Composition, and the Age of the pretended Composers. Whereas, if the Fragments be genuine, they do not so directly prove the *Universality* as the *Antiquity* of the Practice. But as our only Aim is Truth, and *that* seeming to bear hard against this learned Critic's Determination, we must stick by the common Opinion, and examine what hath been offered in Discredit of it.

The universal Current of Antiquity holds for the Genuineness of these Remains, and for the Reality of their Authors' legislative Quality. *Aristotle*, *Theophrastus*, *Tully*, *Diodorus Siculus*, and *Plutarch*, the most learned and inquisitive Writers of their several Ages, declare for the common Opinion. At length *Timæus* thought fit to deny that *Zaleucus* had given Laws to the *Locrians*; nay, that there ever was such a Lawgiver in Being. We shall be the less surprized at this Paradox when we come to know the Character and Studies of the Man: He was by Profession an Historian, but employed himself in inventing, aggravating, and divulging Faults and Errors in the preceding Writers of Name and Re-

^p *Arist. Pol.* 12.

^q *Dissert. on the Epistles of Phalaris, with an Answer to the Objections of Mr. Boyle.*

putation. *Polybius, Strabo, and Diodorus Siculus*, three of the wisest and most candid Historians of *Greece*, have concurred to draw him in the most odious Colours. The first speaks of him in this manner: *How he came to be placed amongst the principal Writers of History, I know not. — He deserves neither Credit nor Pardon of any one; having so manifestly transgressed all the Rules of Decency and Decorum in his excessive Calumnies, through an innate Malignity of Heart^r. This envious rabid Temper, joined to a Perversity of Mind, delighting only in Contradiction, gained him the great Title of EPI-TIMÆUS, the Calumniator. And, what is a certain Mark of a base and abject Heart, he was as excessive in his Flattery; as where he says, *Timoleon was greater than the greatest Gods^s. He took so much Pleasure in contradicting the most received Truths, that he wrote a long Treatise, with great Fury and ill Language, to prove that the Bull of Phalaris was a mere Fable. And yet Diodorus and Polybius, who tell us this, tell us likewise, that the very Bull itself was existing in their Time: To all which, he was so little solicitous about Truth, that Suidas tells us, he was nicknamed ΓΡΑΟΣΥΛΛΕΚΤΡΙΑ, a Composer of old Wives Fables. Polybius shews us with what Justice it was given him. In censuring the Faults of others, he puts on such an Air of Severity and Confidence, as if he himself were exempt from Failings, and stood in no need of Indulgence. Yet are his own Histories stuffed with Dreams and Prodigies, with the most**

^r Οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ἐνφέρεται δόξαν, ὡς ἔλκων ἢ ἔ συγγραφῆως πρὸς τὴν ἀσπίδα. — Ἐκείνῳ δ' αὖν ὅτι εἰκότως τυγχάνοι συγγνώμης εἰδὲ πεισθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἀσπίδα ἐν ταῖς λοιδορίαις ἐκπύειν ἔκαστος, ἀλλὰ ἢ ἐμφύλιον πόλεμον. *Excerpt. ex l. 12. Hist.*

^s *Suidas in Timæo.* Τίμαριος ὁ μείζων ποιῶν Τιμολεόντα ἢ ἐπιφανέστατον Θεῶν.

wild and improbable Fables. In short, full of old Wives Wonders, and of the lowest and basest Superstition^t. Agreeable to this, Clemens Alexandrinus gives him as the very Pattern of a fabulous and satyric Writer. And he appeared in every respect of so ill a Character to Mr. Bayle, that that great Critic did not scruple to say, that, “in all appearance, he had no better Authority when he denied that *Zaleucus* had given Laws to the Locrians^v.” To say all in a word, he was the CRITICAL HISTORIAN of the *Greeks*; and yet this is the Man, whom the learned Critic hath thought fit to oppose to all Antiquity with regard to *Zaleucus*’s Legislation and Existence. It appears the more extraordinary, because the learned Critic hath himself furnished his Reader with a violent Presumption against *Timæus*’s Authority, where he says^w, *That Polybius charges him with false Representations relating to the Locrians*. He adds indeed, *that nothing is now extant that shews Polybius thought Timæus mistaken concerning Zaleucus*. But as *Polybius* quotes a Law as of *Zaleucus*, it seems, in so exact a Writer, a Proof of his being well satisfied, that amongst *Timæus*’s Falshoods concerning the *Locrians*, one was his denying *Zaleucus* to be their Lawgiver.

Timæus’s Reasons Antiquity hath not brought down to us: But the Fragments of *Polybius*^x mentioning his outrageous Treatment of *Aristotle* concerning the Origin of the *Locrians*, speak of one

^t Οὐτὸ γὰρ ἐν μὲν ταῖς πύλαις καὶ ἱστορίαις πολλὴν ἐπιφαίνει δεινότητα καὶ τόλμαν· ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἰδίαις ἀποφάσεσιν ἐνυπνίων καὶ τεράτων καὶ μυθῶν ἀπιθάνων, καὶ συζήβδῳ δεισιδαιμονίας ἀγλυνῆς καὶ τεργείας; γυναικώδους ἐστὶ πλήρης. *Excerpt. de Virt. & Vit. ex l. 12.*

^v Et apparement il ne fut pas mieux fondé quand il nia que *Zaleucus* eût donné des Loix à ce peuple: [les *Locriens*.]

^w *Dissert. upon Phalaris, p. 337.*

^x *Excerpta ex Polybio de Virt. & Vitiis, ex l. 12.*

Echecrates a *Locrian*, from whom *Timæus* boasted he had received Information on certain Points in Question. Hence the learned Critic, as it would seem, concludes, that of the *Locrian's* Intelligence, this was a Part, that there was no such Man as *Zaleucus* ^y. As if, because *Timæus* relied on *Echecrates's* Information in the Matters in Dispute between him and *Aristotle*, therefore *Echecrates* must, of necessity, support all his Paradoxes concerning that People. But admit, tho' without Proof, that *Echecrates* was of the same Opinion with *Timæus* in this Point, is he, who, for ought we know, might be as singular and as whimsical in matter of Contradiction, as *Timæus* himself, an Evidence to be opposed to *Tully*; who tells us, that his Clients the *Locrians* had, in his Time, a Tradition of *Zaleucus's* Legislation ^z? And we may well presume, that *Tully*, inquisitive as he was, in Matters of Antiquity, would examine this Tradition with Care. And had their Archives contradicted it, he had hardly thought it worth his mention. But, says the learned Critic, if *Echecrates*, in that Age, did not believe there was any *Zaleucus*, he is certainly as credible as *Cicero's* *Locrians*, who came so many Generations afterwards, after so many Revolutions and Changes in their Government ^a. This Reasoning has small Force, because we may argue just the other way from the same Premises, and say, that if the Tradition kept its Ground through all those Changes and Revolutions of State, it would seem to have had a very strong Foundation.

The Authority then of *Timæus* against the Existence and Legislation of *Zaleucus* in general is of no weight. Let us next examine what the great Critic has to urge against the Genuineness of those

^y P. 336. *Dissert. upon Phalaris.*

^z *De Legibus*, l. ii. c. 6.

^a P. 336. *Dissert. upon Phalaris.*

Laws that go under *Zaleucus's* Name. His Arguments are of two Kinds: the one drawn from the Dialect, and from the Use of several Words, which are indeed, later than his Time; the other from *Zaleucus's* being no *Pythagorean*.

1. The *Words* objected to, are these, — *Λεπλὰς* καὶ *παχείας* — *ἰσομιλήσιον* — *Κόσμον* — *Τετραγώναις*. This, and the Fragments being written in the common Dialect, instead of the *Doric*, are, in the learned Critic's Opinion, sufficient Evidence of the Forgery.

He has employed a deal of good ^b Learning, to prove the Words to be all later than the Time of *Zaleucus*.

Let us see then the most that can be made of this sort of critical Argument. And because it is best approved and readiest at hand for the Detection of Forgery, and supposed by some not a little to affect the sacred Writings themselves, we will enquire into its Force in general.

It must be owned, that a Writing offered as the identical Composition of any certain Person, or Age, and having Words or Phrases posterior to its Age, carries with it the decisive Marks of Forgery. A public Instrument, or Diploma, so discredited, is lost for ever. And to such was this Canon of Criticism first applied with great Success. This encouraged following Critics to try it on Writings of another Kind; and then, for want of a reasonable Distinction, they began to make very wild Work indeed. For though in Works of *abstract Speculation*, or of *mere Amusement and Entertainment*, this Touch might be applied with tolerable Security, there being, for the most part, no Occasion or Temptation to alter the Diction of such Writings espe-

^b From p. 346 to 356 of the *Dissert.*

cially in the ancient Languages, that suffered small and slow Change, because one Sort of these Works was only for the Use of a few learned Men, and, of the other, a great Part of their Curiosity consisted in the original Phrase; yet in *practical and public Writings of Law and Religion*, this would prove a very fallacious Criterion: it was the Matter only that was here regarded. And, as the Matter respected the whole Body of the People, it was of the highest Importance that the Words and Phrases should not be obscure, ambiguous, or equivocal: This would necessitate Alterations in them. Hence it appears to me, that that Solution of the Commentators to several Difficulties of this kind occurring in the *Pentateuch*, is founded in good Sense, and fully justified by the Observation here given. The Religion, Law, and History of the *Jews* were incorporated; and it was, consequently, the Concern of every one to understand the Scriptures. Nor does that superstitious Regard, well known to have been long paid to the Words, and even Letters of Scripture, at all weaken the Force of this Argument: for it arose only from the Time that the *Masoret* Doctors fixed the Reading, and added the Vowel Points. I have taken the Opportunity the Subject afforded me to touch upon this Matter, because it is the only Argument of Moment, against the Antiquity of the *Pentateuch*, which I am much concerned to establish.

The Application of all this is very easy to the Case in hand: *Zaleucus's* Fragment was part of a Body of Laws which the People were obliged to understand; but this they could not do without the Change of Words and Phrases: and to make these an Argument against the Genuineness of the Fragment, would be the same as to suppose the first Laws in our vulgar Statute Books, the Forgeries

of later Times, because full of Words unknown to the Ages in which those Laws are pretended to have been enacted.

As to the Change of Dialect, the great Critic thus expresses himself: *The last Argument I shall offer against the Laws of Zaleucus, is this, that the Preface of them which Stobæus has produced, is written in the common Dialect, whereas, it ought to be in the Doric, for that was the Language of the Locri.—The Laws of Zaleucus therefore are commentitious, because they are not in Doric^c.*

What has been said above shews this Argument to have small Force: But it is urged with a particular ill Grace by the learned Critic, who, in his *Dissertation upon Phalaris*, hath discovered, that *Ocellus Lucanus* wrote the *Treatise of the Nature of the Universe* in Doric^d: And from thence rightly concludes, it ought to be acknowledged for a genuine Work, which hitherto learned Men have doubted of from this very Business of its being writ in the common Dialect. For we now see that every Word of the true Book is faithfully preserved; the Doric being only changed into the ordinary Language, at the Fancy of some Copier^e. Now, by the rash Suspicions of those learned Men in the Case of *Ocellus Lucanus*, he should have seen, methinks, that this was a very fallacious Ground of Criticism. He should have concluded, if this was done in Books of mere Speculation, it was more likely to be done in Works so necessary to be well understood as Books of Laws; especially when he had observed, after *Porphyry*, that the Doric is always clouded with Obscurity^f.

And doubtless on this Account it was, that trans-dialecting was no rare Practice. For, besides this

^c P. 135 and 358.

^d P. 47.

^e P. 49.

^f P. 317.

Instance

Instance of *Ocellus Lucanus*, we have another in *Orpheus*. *Jamblicus* tells us, that the old Poems which went under the Name of *Orpheus*, were written in the *Doric* Dialect. But now the Fragments, which those Ancients, who did not write in *Doric*, have preserved to us, are in the common Dialect. It is a plain Case then that they have been transdialected.

2. We come now to the learned Critic's other Argument for the Imposture, which runs thus: *The Report of Zaleucus being a Pythagorean, was gathered from some Passages in the System of Laws ascribed to him, for where else could they meet with it? So that if it can be proved he was more ancient than Pythagoras, this false Story of his being a Pythagorean being taken from that System, must convict it of a Cheat*^g. He then proceeds to prove him more ancient than *Pythagoras*; which he does with great Force of Learning and Reasoning, though his Arguments are not all equally well chosen. As where he brings this for a Proof that *Zaleucus* was no Scholar of *Pythagoras*, "Because he ascribed all his Laws to *Minerva*, from whom he pretended to receive them in Dreams: which (in the learned Critic's Opinion) has nothing of a *Pythagorean* in it. For *Pythagoras*'s Scholars ascribed every thing to their Master: it was always αὐτὸς ἔφα with them, *he said it*. Therefore if *Zaleucus* had been of that Society, he would certainly have honoured his Master, by imputing his Laws to his Instructions^h." But this Argument is of no Weight: For, 1. From what has been said above of the Genius of ancient Legislation, it appears, that the universal Practice required, and the Nature of the Thing disposed the Lawgiver to ascribe his

^g P. 337.^h P. 338.

Laws to the Inspiration of some God. 2. As to the famous αὐτὸς ἔφα, it was not peculiar to the *Pythagoreans*, but common to all the Sects of Greece, *jurare in verba Magistri*. A Device to keep them distinct and separate from each other; and a compendious way of arguing, amongst those of the same School. It would then have been ridiculous to have urged its Authority to any out of the Sect; more so, to the common People; and most of all, to them, upon publick and practical Matters; the αὐτὸς ἔφα being urged only in Points of Speculation and in the Schools of Philosophy. Indeed so unlucky an Argument is this, that, on the contrary, the Reader will, I believe, be apt to conclude, the very Circumstance of *Zaleucus's* ascribing his Laws to *Minerva*, was one of the Things that gave Birth to the Report of his being a *Pythagorean*. And doubtless, it would have much Weight with those who did not carefully enough attend to the Chronology. For *Zaleucus*, in this, might be supposed to follow both the Example and Precept of *Pythagoras*, who himself pretended to be inspired by *Minerva*; and taught it his Scholars as the most efficacious way of establishing Civil Justice, to propagate the Opinion of the Gods having an intimate Intercourse with Mankindⁱ.

But notwithstanding the Defect of this Argument, the learned Critic, as we said, proves his previous Point with great Clearness, that *Zaleucus* was earlier than *Pythagoras*. And in Conclusion draws the Inference abovementioned, in these Terms: *It was generally reported Zaleucus was a Pythagorean; it is proved he was not. This will refute the Book itself. For if any Intimation was given in the Book that the Author was a Pythagorean, the Imposture*

ⁱ See *Jamblicus's* Life of *Pythagoras*.

is evident, “*And yet it is hard to give any other Reason that should induce the later Writers to call him a Pythagorean.*” Some Impostor therefore made a System of Laws under the Name of *Zaleucus*, and in it gave a broad Hint that he was a Scholar of *Pythagoras*.

Here he rests his Cause. If then it be not hard to give another Reason, that should induce the later Writers to call him a Pythagorean, his long Dissertation to prove *Zaleucus* the earlier of the two, is of no kind of Use, to the Proof of the Imposture. I have already hinted at a very probable one, which was his having the same inspiring Goddess with *Pythagoras*. And this will be much strengthened by this farther remarkable Circumstance, that *Minerva* became the peculiar Patroness of the *Pythagorean* Lawgivers, on Account of the Assistance she had given to their Master. To which we may add the Circumstance of the Laws’ being in *Doric* (and supposing them genuine, they certainly were so) for this Idiom was peculiar to the *Pythagoric* School^k. And farther, that of the whole Proem

^k This we are told by *Jamblicus*: His Words are, λήγει τοῖς νόμοις, ὡς φωνῇ χρησάμενος τῇ πατρίᾳ ἐκείνῳ παρὶς γέλλον. *Vit. Pyth.* 194. *Kust. Ed.* Dr. Bentley understands them to signify, that every one should use his own Mother Tongue. And indeed, without reading the Context, one could scarce avoid giving this Sense to the Passage. *Vizzanius*, — that every one should use the Mother Tongue of *Crotona*; which was the *Doric*. Of these, the learned Critic says, which is the true, perhaps all competent Readers will not be of one Mind, p. 386. But I believe there will be no great Difference of Opinions amongst those who weigh the following Reasons: 1. *Jamblicus* adds, τὸ γὰρ ξενίζειν οὐκ ἔδοκίμαζον; by which I understand him to mean that the *Pythagoric* Sect did not approve of a foreign Dialect. For if it were meant of the particular *Greeks* that entered into it, it has no Meaning in this Place. But now a Sect’s not approving of a foreign Dialect, must suppose they had one natural and peculiar to it. 2. *Jamblicus* in the same Place tells us, that *Pythagoras*

of *Zaleucus's* Laws being formed agreeably to the Precepts of *Pythagoras* in this Matter; who directs, that, next after the Worship of the Gods, *Dæmon*, and Parent-Worship should be enjoined¹. And later Writers, seeing these two visible Marks of a *Pythagorean*, might, without farther Reflexion, be reasonably disposed to think *Zaleucus* of that Sect. But as the learned Critic has made out from sure Chronological Evidence, that this was a Mistake, we must seek for some other Cause of the Uniformity; which I take to be this: *Zaleucus*, when *Pythagoras* flourished, was in the highest Repute in *Greece* for Legislation; which might incline this Philosopher to imitate him, both in his inspiring Goddess, and in the Proem of his Laws: So that Posterity was only mistaken in distinguishing the Copy from the Original. This they might very well be; for *Pythagoras* and his Sect had engrossed all the Glory in the Fact of Lawgiving: Which leads me to another probable Cause of the common Opinion of *Zaleucus's* being a *Pythagorean*.

valued the *Doric* above the other *Greek* Dialects, as the most agreeable to the Laws of Harmony, Τὴν ὃ Δώριαν ἀλέκτοιν ἐναρμονίαν εἶναι. Now he having made the Essence of the Soul to be Harmony, it was no wonder he should chuse a Dialect, which he supposed approached nearest to its Nature; that the Mind and Tongue might go together. 3. *Pythagoras* seems here to have affected imitating his Master *Orpheus*, from whom, as we shall see hereafter, he borrowed much of his Philosophy. For *Jamblicus* tells us, that the old Writings that went under the Name of *Orpheus*, were composed in *Doric*. 4. But, lastly, a Passage in *Porphry's* *Life of Pythagoras*, seems alone sufficient to determine this matter: *Porphry* giving the Causes of the Decay of the *Pythagoric* Philosophy, assigns this for one, that their Commentaries were written in *Doric*. "Ἐπειὶ αὖτε καὶ τὰ γεγραμμένα Δωρίδι γέγραπται, p. 49. *Kust. Ed.* This is the clearest Comment on the Words in Question, and determines them to the Sense we contend for.

¹ Μετὰ δὲ τὸ θεῖόν τε καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον, πλεῖστον ποιῶν λόγον γὰρ ὧν. *Jamb. Vit. Pyth.* c. 30.

The Character of this Sect we say, and shall prove hereafter, was so great for Lawgiving, that After-Ages thought nothing could be done to Purpose in that Way, which had not a *Pythagorean* for its Author. So, besides *Zaleucus*, the Ancients supposed *Charondas*, *Numa*^m, *Zamolxis*ⁿ, *Phytius*, *Theocles*, *Elicaon*, *Aristocrates*, nay the very *Druids*^o, the Legislators of *Gaul*, and in a word all the eminent Lawgivers that lived any thing near the Time of *Pythagoras*, to be instructed by him. But will the learned Critic say that, *therefore*, all these Legislators were imaginary Persons, and did not give Laws to their several Cities? This Notion arising from *Pythagoras*'s great Character and Reputation, was nursed up and improved by his Followers themselves, to beget Honour to their Master; as we may see in *Jamblicus*'s Life of that Philosopher. So that was there no more in it than this, as *Zaleucus*'s Institutions were in great Repute, we might very naturally account for the Mistake.

But lastly, it is indeed very true, that, as the learned Critic suspected, the principal Ground of the Report of *Zaleucus*' being a *Pythagorean*, was from some Passages in the System of Laws ascribed to him. He is only too hasty in his Conclusion, that therefore this must convict the System of a Cheat. What led him to it is his supposing, that no such Report could be gathered from Passages in the System, but such as must be an Intimation that the Author was a *Pythagorean*: And that there is no Difference between giving and taking an Intimation. If then this Report might be gathered from Passages that contained no Intimation, and if the Reader

^m *Quinetiam arbitror propter Pythagoreorum admirationem, Numam quoque Regem Pythagoreum à posterioribus existimatum. Tul. Tusc. Disp. l. iv. c. i.*

ⁿ *Herod. l. iv.*

^o *Ammian. Marcell. l. xv. c. 9.*

might understand that to be an *Intimation* which the Writer never intended for one; the Consequence will be that the Credit of these Fragments remain unshaken, though we grant the learned Critic his whole Premises, and all the Facts he contends for.

It is certain then, a principal Ground of the Report was gathered from a Passage in his System of Laws. And I believe I can tell what it was. *Zaleucus* in his Preface speaks of an evil Genius or Demon, ΔΑΙΜΩΝ ΚΑΚΟΣ, as influencing Men to Wickedness. This, though a Notion of the highest Antiquity, whose Origin and Author are much disputed of, yet was the distinguishing Doctrine of the *Pythagoreans*. *Plutarch*, speaking of *Pythagoras's* Opinion of the first Principle, says, that that Philosopher called the *Monad* God, and the *Duad* the evil Genius¹. Which *Duad* the *Pythagoreans* used extremely to vilify as the Cause of all Evil, under the Name of the *bad Principle*, as *Plutarch* would make us believe^r. The Application

Ρ' Αριστοτέλης δ' ἐν πρώτῳ περὶ φιλοσοφίας, καὶ πρεσβυτέρως ἔη [Μάγας] τῷ Αἰγυπτίῳ· καὶ δύο κατ' αὐτὸς εἶναι ἀρχάς, ἀγαθὸν δαίμονα, καὶ κακὸν δαίμονα. *Dios. Laert. Vit. Phil. Proem. Seg. 8.* Οὐκ οἶδα μὴ τῷ ΠΑΝΥ ΠΑΛΑΙΩΝ τῷ ἀτοπώτατον ἀναγκαζῶμεν προσδέχεσθαι λόγον ὡς τὰ φαῦλα δαιμόνια καὶ βάσκανα, προσφθονήσας τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσιν καὶ ταῖς πράξεσιν ἀνισάμενα, ταραχάς καὶ φόβους ἐπάγει, σείοντα καὶ σφάλλοντα τ' ἀρετῇ· ὡς μὴ ἀφαιρῆναι τις ἀπλῶ- τις ἐν τῷ καλῷ καὶ ἀκέραιοι, βελτίονες ἐκείνων μοίρας μᾶλλον τε- λούτων τύχῳσιν. *Plutarch. Vita Dionis.*

¹ Πυθαγόρας τ' ἀρχῶν τ' ἓ μὴ μονάδα θεῖν, καὶ τ' ἀγαθόν, ἥτις ἐστὶν ἡ θεὸς ἐνός φύσις, αὐτὸς ὁ νῦν· τ' δ' ἀόριστον δυάδα, ΔΑΙΜΩΝΑ καὶ τὸ ΚΑΚΟΝ, περὶ ἣν ἐστὶ τὸ ὑλικὸν πλῆθος. *De Plac. Phil. l. i. c. 7. p. 1624. S. E.*

^r Οἱ μὲν Πυθαγόρειοι ἀφ' ὑπερίωνων ὀνομάτων κατήγορεύσι, θεὸν μὲν ἀγαθὸν τὸ ἐν πεπερασμένῳ, τὸ μέγαν, τὸ εὐρύ, τὸ περιεσόν, τὸ τετραγώνον, τὸ δεξιόν, τὸ λαμπρόν· θεὸν δὲ ΚΑΚΟΥ, τὸ ΔΥΑΔΑ, τὸ ἀπειρον, τὸ φερόμενον, τὸ καμπύλον, τὸ ἄρτιον, τὸ ἐτερόμηκες, τὸ ἀνισόν, τὸ ἀριστερόν, τὸ σκοτεινόν· ὥστε ταύτας ἀρχάς ἀνείσεως ὑποκειμένης. Περὶ ΙΣ. καὶ ΟΣΙΡ. p. 660. *St. Ed.* I suppose the Reason, why amongst the ill Names said to be given to the bad

of

of this Doctrine I suppose *Pythagoras* might borrow from *Zaleucus*, and here again Posterity be mistaken in the original Author. But we may collect from the same *Plutarch*, that this Opinion was cultivated by all the ancient Lawgivers. For he who favoured the Notion of two Principles, the one Good, and the other Evil, affects, I observe, to draw every ancient Writer, that but mentions an evil Dæmon, into his Sect. In his Treatise of *Isis* and *Osiris*, he speaks to this Purpose, “ That it was a most ancient Opinion, delivered as well by LEGISLATORS as Divines, that the World was neither made by Chance, neither did one Cause govern all things, without Opposition^s. ”

This Notion therefore, delivered in the Proem of *Zaleucus*’s Laws, might very well be understood as an *Intimation of the Author’s being a Pythagorean*, and yet, not being so designed by the Author, it tends not, in the least, to refute the Book itself.

On the whole then, I presume, it appears that the Credit of these Remains stands unshaken for any thing the learned Critic has advanced to the contrary, and that we may safely urge them as of the Antiquity they pretend to.

Thus *Zaleucus* begins his Preface : “ Every Inhabitant, whether of Town or Country, should first of all be firmly persuaded of the Being and Existence of the Gods : which Belief he will be readily induced to entertain, when he contem-

Principle by the *Pythagoreans* Δυὰς is one, was because in their superstitious Qualities of Number the Δυὰς is very heavily loaded. “ Οτι ἡ μὲν ΜΟΝΑΣ καὶ τὴν ἰσότητά καὶ τὸ μέτρον λαμβάνεται· ἡ δὲ Δυὰς καθ’ ὑπερβολὴν καὶ ἑλλειψιν. *Anon. de Vit. Pyth. apud Photium.*

^s Διὸ καὶ παραπάλαυ αὐτὴν κάττεισιν ἐν Θεολόγων καὶ ΝΟΜΟΘΕΤΩΝ — ὡς ἔτ’ ἀνθρὸν καὶ ἄλοον καὶ ἀκυβέρνητον αἰωρεῖται τῷ αὐτομάτῳ τὸ πᾶν, ἕτε εἷς ἐστὶν ὁ κρατὶς καὶ κατενυώνων, ὥσπερ οἰάζειν ἢ τισὶ περὶ θηρίοις χαλινούσιν λόγῳ.

“ plates

- “ plates the Heavens, regards the World, and ob-
 “ serves the Disposition, Order, and Harmony of
 “ the Universe; which can neither be the Work
 “ of blind Chance, nor of Man. These Gods are
 “ to be worshipped as the Cause of all the real
 “ Good we enjoy. Every one therefore should so
 “ prepare, and possess his Mind, as to have it clear
 “ of every Kind of Pollution; being persuaded
 “ that God is not honoured by a wicked Person,
 “ nor acceptably served, like miserable Man, with
 “ sumptuous Ceremonies, or taken with costly Sa-
 “ crifices, but with Virtue only, and a constant
 “ Disposition to good and just Actions. On which
 1. “ Account, Every one ought to labour all he can
 “ to become good, both in Practice and Principle,
 “ whereby he will render himself dear and accep-
 2. “ table to God: Ought to fear more what leads to
 “ Ignominy and Dishonour, than to Loss of Wealth
 “ and Fortune; and to esteem him the worthiest
 “ Citizen, who gives up his worldly Goods, rather
 “ than renounce his Honesty and Love of Justice:
 3. “ But those whose headstrong Appetites will not
 “ suffer them to be drawn to these Things, and
 “ whose Hearts are turned with a natural Bias to-
 “ wards Evil, whether they be Men or Women,
 “ Citizens or Sojourners, should keep in mind the
 “ Gods; and think upon their Nature, and of the
 “ Judgments they always have in Store for wicked
 “ Men: They should *set before themselves the dread-
 “ ful Hour of Death*, a Period they must all arrive
 “ at; *when the Memory of evil Actions past will
 “ seize the Sinner with Remorse, accompanied with
 “ the fruitless Wish that he had submitted his Actions
 “ to the Rules of Justice.* Every one therefore
 “ should so watch over his Behaviour, *as if that
 “ Hour were still present with him*, and attended all
 “ his Motions: which is the way to keep up in
 “ himself

“ himself an exact regard to Right and Justice.

“ BUT IF THE WICKED DEMON BE INSTANT TO

“ INFLUENCE HIM TO EVIL, let him fly to the

“ Altars and Temples of the Gods, as the surest

“ Asylum from that cruelest and wickedest of Ty-

“ rants, Evil, and implore their Assistance to drive

“ her far from him. To this end, let him also have

“ recourse to those whose Reputations are high for

“ Probity and Virtue; whom he may hear dis-

“ course of the Happiness of Good, and the Ven-

“ geance attending Evil Men.”

It is indeed surprizing, that any Man who had attentively considered this admirable Remain, should think it the Forgery of a Sophist. The Author of

Τὰς καλοικεσίας ἢ πόλιν καὶ ἢ χώραν, πάντας πρῶτον πεπεῖσθαι
 χρὴ, καὶ νομίζειν θεὸς εἶναι, καὶ ἀναδλέποντας ἐς ἕρπον, καὶ τὸ κόσμον,
 καὶ τὸ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀκρόσμησιν, καὶ τάξιν· ἢ γὰρ τύχης, ἢ δ' ἀνθρώπων
 εἶναι δημιουργήματα· σέβειν δὲ τὰς καὶ τιμᾶν, ὡς αἰτίαι ὄντας πάν-
 των ἡμῶν ἀγαθῶν, τῶν καὶ λόγον γινωσκόντων. Ἐκαστον ἔν ἑχεν ὡρα-
 σκιάζειν δεῖ καὶ αὐτὴ ψυχὴν, πάντων τὸ κακῶν καθαράν· ὡς ἢ τιμᾶται
 θεὸς ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων φαύλων, ἢ δὲ θεραπεύεται δαπάναις, ἢ δὲ τραγω-
 δίας τὸ ἀλίσκομενον, καθάπερ μοχθηρὸς ἀνθρώπος, ἀλλ' ὀρετῇ καὶ
 προαιρέσει τὸ καλῶν ἔργων καὶ δικαίων. Διὸ ἕκαστον δεῖ εἰς διώκειν
 ἀγαθὸν εἶναι καὶ πράξει καὶ προαιρέσει τὸ μέλλοντα ἔσεσθαι θεοφιλεῖ· καὶ μὴ
 φοβεῖσθαι τὰς εἰς χρεῖματα ζημίας μάλλον τὸ εἰς αἰχμὴν τεινόντων· καὶ
 πολίτην ἀμείνονα ὀνομάζειν τὸ ἢ εἶσαν προϋέμενον μάλλον ἢ καλῶ καὶ
 δικαίᾳ· ὅσοις δὲ μὴ ῥέδιον πρὸς ταῦτα ἢ ὀρμὴν πεπεῖσθαι, ἢ ἢ ψυχὴν
 ἔχουσιν σὺκίνητον πρὸς ἀδικίαν ὡδ' ἡμῶν παρηγέλω· πάνσι τοῖς τοιού-
 τοις πολίταις, καὶ πολίταις καὶ ξενόκοις μεμνησθαι θεῶν ὡς ὄντων, καὶ
 δίκας ἐπιπεμπόντων τοῖς ἀδικοῖς· καὶ τίθειν πρὸς ὀρμάτων τὸ καιρὸν
 τῷτον, ἐν ᾧ γίνεσθαι τὸ τέλος· ἐκάστω τὸ ἀπαλλαγῆς ἢ ζῆν, πάνσι γὰρ
 ἐμπίπτει μελαμέλεια τοῖς μέλλουσι τελευτᾶν, μεμνημένοις ὧν ἀδική-
 κασι, καὶ ὀρμὴ ἢ βέλεσθαι πάντα πεπράχθαι δικαίως αὐτοῖς. Διὸ δεῖ
 ἕκαστον παρ' ἐκάστην πράξιν αἰεὶ σιωπικεῖν τὸ καιρὸν τῷτον, ὡς δὲ
 παρόντα· ἔτω γὰρ ἂν μάλιστα ἢ καλῶ καὶ ἢ δικαίᾳ φρονιεῖν· εἰάν τῃ
 τῷ ὡραστῇ ΔΑΙΜΩΝ ΚΑΚΟΣ τρέπων πρὸς ἀδικίαν, ἀγλαί-
 βειν πρὸς ναοῖς καὶ βωμοῖς καὶ τεμεῖσι, φύγοντα τὸ ἀδικίαν, ὡς δὲ
 σιωπικεῖν αὐτήν· ἵεναι δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἀνδρὸς δόξαν ἔχοντας ἐπ' ἀνδραγαθίας
 ἀκροσόμενοι· οὐδ' αὖτε δαίμονος βίη, καὶ κακῶν ἀνδρῶν τιμωρίας ἵνα δό-
 τῃ τῶν ἀδίκων ἔργων. *Apud Stobæum, Serm. 42.*

it plainly understood human Nature and Society at another Rate than *these Men*, even when they were at the highest for Knowledge and Learning. He has not only given us an exact Pourtrait of pure natural Religion; but, in applying it to the Service of the State, has explained the Use and Subserviency of its Parts to the three great Classes of Mankind. He has recommended the intrinsick Excellence of Virtue and Obedience to the Will and Example of the Gods, to those who are of so ingenuous and well-framed a Nature as to be always disposed to embrace Truth and Right: To others, of a less heroic turn of Mind, who idolize their Reputation, he holds out Honour and Ignominy, as the inseparable Attendants of good and evil Actions: And, to the common run of more intractable and perverse Spirits, he preaches up the Doctrine of future Rewards and Punishments. I will only observe, that it appears to have been from hence, that *Pomponatius* borrowed the beautiful Passage, which we have quoted at large, in the first Book of this Discourse.

Thus *Zaleucus*: and much in the same fashion does *Charondas* introduce his Laws.

In Imitation of this Practice, *Plato* likewise, and *Cicero* both preface their *Laws* with the Sanctions of Religion. And though these two great Men were not, strictly speaking, Lawgivers in form; yet we are not to suppose that what they wrote, in this Way, was like the Dreams of the Sophists, for the Entertainment of the idle and imaginative. They were both well practised in Affairs, and deeply conversant in human Nature; and they formed these Institutes altogether on the Plan, and in the Spirit and Views of ancient Legislation: The Foundation of *Plato's* being the *Attic Laws*; and of *Cicero's*, the *twelve Tables*: who himself
takes

takes care to warn us of this Difference: “ In
 “ Imitation (says he) of *Plato*, the most learned,
 “ and at the same time, the wisest of the Philo-
 “ sopher, who wrote *best* ^v of a Republic, and
 “ likewise, separately, of the Laws thereof, I think
 “ it will be proper, before I give the Law itself^w,
 “ to say somewhat in Recommendation of it: which,
 “ I observe, was the Method of *Zaleucus* and *Cha-*
 “ *rondas*. For their System of Laws was not an
 “ Exercise of Wit, or designed for the Amuse-
 “ ment of idle, speculative Men, but composed
 “ for the Use of the Public in their several Cities.
 “ *These* *Plato imitated*; as thinking this likewise to

^v I read here with *Turnebus*, *qui princeps de Rep. conscripsit*. *Lambin* objects to this Reading, because we gather from *Aristotle* that *Plato* was not the first that wrote of a Republic; he supposing the Words required that Sense: whereas they signify, who wrote best of a Republic, as we have translated them; and as *Turnebus*, without question, understood them. That this was *Tully's* Opinion of *Plato*, may be gathered from many Places in his Writings. And that he thus uses the Word *Princeps* appears from the following Passage, l. iv. in Ver. c. 49. in qua [*Patriâ*] multis virtutibus & beneficiis floruit PRINCEPS.

^w *Ut priusquam ipsam legem recitem, de ejus legis laude dicam*. This Passage is not without its Difficulty. If by *LEX* is meant the whole System of Laws that follows, which the Tenor of the Discourse leads one to conclude; then, by *LAUS*, the Recommendation of it, we are to understand the shewing, as he does in the following Chapter, that the Gods interested themselves very much in the Observance or Inobservance of Civil Laws; which implies, that they were indeed their Laws: And so *Tully* calls them, in the 4th Ch. of this Book: *Ita principem legem illam, & ultimam, mentem esse dicebant omnia ratione aut cogentis, aut vetantis Dei; ex qua illa Lex quam Dii humano generi dederunt, rectè est LAUDATA*. And the shewing that Civil Laws came originally from the Gods, was the highest Commendation of them. But if by *LEX* we are to understand only the first Law of the System, which begins, *Ad Divos adeunto castè*, &c. then by Recommendation is meant shewing, as he does likewise in the following Chapter, the Use and Service of Religion to Civil Society.

“ be

“ be the Business of Law ; to gain somewhat of
 “ its End by the gentler Methods of Persuasion,
 “ and not carry every Thing by Force and Fear of
 “ Punishment^x.

Here, we see, he intimates, that *Plato* and himself had the same View in writing Laws with *Zaleucus* and *Charondas* ; namely, the Benefit of the Public. The Difference between them was, that the two Originals were employed by their Country ; and the two Copiests generously undertook an Office they were not called to.

These two latter are the greatest Authorities Antiquity can supply ; and the most deserving to be heard in this Matter. But as *Cicero* professes to borrow from *Plato*, and speaks his Sentiments, and often in his Words, we shall content ourselves with citing the *Roman* only, as abundantly sufficient to shew the Opinion of them both.

Cicero's Introduction to his Laws, is as follows:
 “ Let our Citizen then be first of all firmly per-
 “ suaded of the Government and Dominion of the
 “ Gods ; that they are the Lords and Masters of
 “ the Universe ; that all Things are directed by
 “ their Power, Disposal, and Providence ; and that
 “ the whole Race of Mankind is in the highest
 “ manner indebted to them ; that they are inti-
 “ mately acquainted with every one's State and
 “ Condition ; that they know what he does, what

^x Sed, ut vir doctissimus fecit *Plato*, atque idem gravissimus philosophorum omnium, qui princeps de republica conscripsit, idemque separatim de legibus ejus, id mihi credo esse faciendum ; ut priusquam ipsam Legem recitem, de ejus legis laude dicam. Quod idem & *Zaleucum* & *Charondam* fecisse video ; cum quidem illi non studii & delectationis, sed reipublicæ causa leges civitatibus suis scripserunt. Quos imitatus *Plato*, videlicet hoc quoque Legis putavit esse, persuadere aliquid, non omnia vi ac minis cogere. *De Leg. l. ii. c. 6.*

“ he

" he thinks ; with what Disposition of Mind, and
 " with what Degree of Piety he performs the Acts
 " and Offices of Religion ; and that, accordingly,
 " they make a Distinction between good and evil
 " Men. The Mind being imbued with these Opi-
 " nions, will never deviate, in its Determinations,
 " from Truth and Utility. And what is truer than
 " this, that no one should be so stupidly arrogant,
 " as to suppose there is Mind and Reason in him-
 " self, and yet none in the Heavens and the World,
 " or, that those Things which can scarce be com-
 " prehended with the utmost Stretch of human
 " Genius, yet perform their Motions without an un-
 " derstanding Director ? But, that Man, whom the
 " Courses of the heavenly Bodies, the Vicissitudes
 " of Day and Night, the orderly Temperature of
 " the Seasons, and the various Blessings which the
 " Earth pours out for our Subsistence and our Plea-
 " sure, will not excite, nay compel to Gratitude ;
 " is unfit to be so much as reckoned in the Num-
 " ber of Mankind. And since all Things that
 " are endowed with Reason, are more excellent
 " than those which want it, and that it is Impiety
 " to say, any *particular* is more excellent than the
 " *universal* Nature ; we must needs confess this Na-
 " ture to be endowed with Reason. That these
 " Opinions are likewise *useful*, who can deny, when
 " he considers what Stability is derived to the Public
 " from within, by the Religion of an Oath ; and
 " what Security it enjoys from without, by those
 " holy Rites which accompany national Treaties
 " and Conventions ; how efficacious the Fear of
 " divine Punishment is to deter Men from Wicked-
 " ness ; and what Purity of Manners must reign in
 " that Society, where the immortal Gods them-
 " selves are believed to interpose both as Judges

“and Witnesses? Here you have the Proem of the Law; for so *Plato* calls it^y.”

And then follow the Laws themselves; the first of which is conceived in these Words: *Let those who approach the Gods, be pure and undefiled; let their Offerings be seasoned with Piety, and all Ostentation of Pomp omitted: The God himself will be his own Avenger on Transgressors. Let the Gods, and those who were always reckoned in the Number of Celestials, be worshipped: and those likewise whom their Merits have raised to Heaven; such as Hercules, Bacchus, Æsculapius, Castor, Pollux, and Romulus. And let Chapels be erected in honour to those Qualities, by whose Aid Mortals arrive thither, such as Reason, Virtue, Piety, and good Faith^z.*

^y Sit igitur hoc a principio persuasum civibus, dominos esse omnium rerum ac moderatores Deos, eaque quæ gerantur, eorum geri vi, ditione, ac numine, eosdemque optime de genere hominum mereri; & qualis quisque sit, quid agat, quid in se admittat, qua mente, qua pietate colat religiones, intueri; piorumque & impiorum habere rationem. His enim rebus imbutæ mentes, haud sane abhorrebunt ab utili, & a vera sententia. Quid est enim verius, quàm neminem esse oportere tam stulte arrogantem, ut in se rationem & mentem putet inesse, in cælo mundoque non putet? aut ut ea, quæ vix summa ingenii ratione comprehendat, nulla ratione moveri putet? Quem vero astrorum ordines, quem dierum noctiumque vicissitudines, quem mensium temperatio, quemque ea, quæ gignuntur nobis ad fruendum, non gratum esse cogant, hunc hominem omnino numerari quî decet? Cumque omnia, quæ rationem habent, præstent iis, quæ sint rationis expertia, nefasque sit dicere ullam rem præstare naturæ omnium rerum; rationem inesse in ea confitendum est. Utiles esse autem opiniones has, quis neget, cum intelligat, quàm multa firmentur jurejurando, quantæ salutis sint scæderum religiones? quàm multos divini supplicii metus a scelere revocarit? quàmque sancta sit societas civium inter ipsos, Diis immortalibus interpositis tum iudicibus tum testibus: Habes legis Proœmium; sic enim hoc appellat *Plato*. *De Leg.* l. ii. c. 7.

^z Ad Divos adeunto castè; pietatem adhibento; opes amovento: qui secus faxit, Deus ipse vindex erit. — Divos, & eos qui cœlestes semper habiti, colunto: & ollos, quos endo cælo merita

S E C T.

S E C T. IV.

TH E next Step the Legislator took, was to affirm and establish the general Doctrine of a *Providence*, which he had delivered in his Laws, by a very particular, and popular Method of inculcating the Belief of a *future State of Rewards and Punishments*.

This was by the Institution of the MYSTERIES, the most sacred Part of Pagan Religion; and framed to strike deep and forcibly into the Minds and Imaginations of the People.

A thing little known or attended to, the Ancients, who wrote expressly on the Mysteries, such as *Melantbius*, *Menander*, *Hicesius*, *Sotades* and others, not being come down to us. I hold it not beside our Purpose therefore to give as full, and as distinct an Account of this whole Matter, as the Nature of the present Work will allow. The modern Writers on the Mysteries are altogether in the Dark concerning its End and Original; not excepting *Meursius* himself: to whom however I am much indebted, for abridging my Search into Antiquity for the Passages that make mention of the *Eleusinian Mysteries*, and for bringing the greatest Part of them together under one View^a.

To avoid Ambiguity, it will be proper to explain the Term. Each of the *Pagan Gods* had, besides the *public* and *open*, a *secret Worship*^b paid

locaverunt, Herculem, Liberum, Æsculapium, Castorem, Pollucem, Quirinum. Ast olla, propter quæ datur homini adscensus in cælum, mentem, virtutem, pietatem, fidem, earumque laudum delubra sunt. *De Leg.* 1. ii. c. 8.

^a Eleusinia: sive de Cereris Eleusinae sacro.

^b *Strabo* in his tenth Book of Geography, p. 716. *Gron. Ed.* writes thus: Κοινὴν δὲ τῶτο, καὶ τῇ Ἑλληνικῇ καὶ τῇ βαρβαρίᾳ ἐστὶ, τὸ

to them ; into which none were admitted but those who had been selected by preparatory Ceremonies called *Initiation*. This *secret Worship* was termed the MYSTERIES: But though every God had, besides his *open Worship*, the *secret* likewise; yet this latter did not every where attend the former; but only there, where he was the Patron God, or in principal Esteem. Thus, when in consequence of that Intercommunity of Paganism, which will be explained hereafter, one Nation adopted the Gods of another, they did not always take in, at the same time, the *secret Worship* or *Mysteries* of that God: So, in *Rome*, the public and open Worship of *Bacchus* was in use long before his Mysteries were admitted. But on the other hand again, the Worship of the strange God was sometimes introduced only for the sake of his Mysteries: As, in the same Place, those of *Isis* and *Osiris*. Thus stood the Case in general, the particular Exceptions to it will be seen in the Sequel of this Section.

The first and original *Mysteries*, of which we have any sure Account, were those of *Isis* and *Osiris* in EGYPT; from whence they were derived to the Greeks^c, under the Presidency of various Gods^d, as the Institutor thought most for his purpose: *Zoroaster* brought them into *Persia*; *Cadmus* and

τὰς ἱεροποιίας μετὰ ἀνέσεως ἐορταστικῆς ποιεῖσθαι, τὰς μὲν σὺν εὐθεσιασ-
μῶ, τὰς δὲ χωρὶς· καὶ τὰς μὲν μετὰ μουσικῆς, τὰς δὲ μὴ· ΚΑΙ ΤΑΣ
ΜΕΝ ΜΥΣΤΙΚΩΣ, ΤΑΣ ΔΕ ΕΝ ΦΑΝΕΡΩ· καὶ τὴν ἢ φύσιν ἔτι
ὑπαγορεύει. And for this secret Worship he gives the following
Reason. — ἦτε κρύψις ἡ μουσικὴ τῶ ἱερῶν σεμνοποιεῖ τὸ θεῖον, μιμημένη
τὴ φύσιν αὐτῆς ἐκφύγεσαν ἡμῶν τὴ αἰσθησιν.

^c Diod. Sic. l. i.

^d Ὅτι δὲ τῶ Διονυσίων, καὶ τῶ Παναθηναίων, καὶ μέντοι τῶ Θεσμο-
φορίων, καὶ τῶ Ἐλευσινίων τὰς τελεῖας ὁρφεύς, ἀνὴρ Ὀδρυσῆς, εἰς
τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐνόμισεν; καὶ εἰς Αἰγύπτου ἀφικόμενος, τὰ τῶ Ἰσιδοῦ
καὶ τῶ Ὀσίριδοῦ εἰς τὰ τῶ Δηῆς καὶ τῶ Διανύου μετέλθεικεν ὁργία.
Theodoretus Therapeut. i.

Inachus

Inachus into Greece at large^e; *Orpheus* into Thrace; *Melampus* into Argis; *Trophonius* into Bæotia; *Minos* into Crete; *Cinyras* into Cyprus; and *Erechtheus* into Athens. And as in Egypt they were to *Isis* and *Osiris*; so in Asia they were to *Mitbras*; in Samothrace to the Mother of the Gods; in Bæotia to *Bacchus*; in Cyprus to *Venus*; in Crete to *Jupiter*; in Athens to *Ceres* and *Proserpine*; in Amphissa to *Castor* and *Pollux*; in Lemnus to *Vulcan*: and so to others, in other Places, to an incredible Number^f.

The Nature and End of these were all the same, to teach the Doctrine of a future State. In this, both *Origen* and *Celsus*, the two most learned Writers of their several Parties, do agree: The first, minding his Adversary of the Difference between the future Life promised by Christianity, and that taught in Paganism, bids him compare the Christian with what all the Sects of Philosophy, and all the Mysteries, amongst Greeks and Barbarians, taught concerning it^g: And *Celsus*, in his turn, endeavouring to shew that Christianity had no Advantage over Paganism, by the Efficacy of stronger Sanctions, addresses those he writes against

^e Ἐκείθεν δ' ἀρχὴν ἔχε τὰ παρ' Ἑλλήσι μυστήρια τε καὶ τελείαι· πρῶτον παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις, καὶ ὧσα Φρυγί, καὶ Φοινίξ, καὶ Βαβυλωνίοις, κακῶς ἐπινενοημένα, μελενεχθέντα τε εἰς Ἑλλήνας ἀπὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων χώρας ὑπὸ Κάδμου καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν Ἰνάχου. Ἀπιδὼ πρῶτον κληθείη, καὶ οἰκοδομήσαντο τὴν Μέμφιν. *Eriphan. adv. Hæc. lib. i.*

^f Postulat quidem magnitudo materiæ, atque ipsius defensionis officium, ut similiter cæteras turpitudinum species persequamur: vel quas produnt antiquitatis historiæ, vel mysteria illa continent sacra, quibus initiis nomen est, & quæ non omnibus vulgo, sed paucorum taciturnitatibus tradi licet. Sed Sacrorum innumeris ritus, atque affixa deformitas singulis, corporaliter prohibet universa nos exequi, *Arnob. adv. Gentes, l. v. p. 168.*

^g — Καθ' ἑκάστην φιλοσόφων αἵρεσιν ἐν Ἑλλήσιν ἢ Βαβυλώνης ἢ ΜΥΣΤΗΡΙΩΔΗ. *Orig. cont. Celsum, l. iii. p. 160. Sp. Ed.*

in this manner: But now, after all, just as you believe eternal Punishments, so do the Ministers of the sacred Rites, and those who initiate into, and preside in the Mysteries^h. They continued long in Religious Observance: some were more celebrated and extensive than others; to which many accidental Causes contributed: The most noted were the Orphic, the Bacchic, the Eleusinian, the Samothracian, the Cabiric, and the Mithriac.

Euripides makes *Bacchus* say, in his Tragedy of that Nameⁱ, that the Orgies were celebrated by all Nations, and that he came to introduce them amongst the Greeks. And it is not improbable that several barbarous Nations had learnt them of the Egyptians long before they came into Greece. The Druids of Britain, who had, as well as the Brachmans of India, their Religion from thence, celebrated the Orgies of *Bacchus*, as we learn from *Dionysius the African*. And *Strabo* having quoted *Artemidorus* for a fabulous Story, subjoins, “But what he says of *Ceres* and *Proserpine* is more credible, namely, that there is an Island near Britain, where they perform the same Rites to those two Goddesses as are in use in *Samothrace*^k.” But, of all the Mysteries, those which bore that Name by way of Eminence, the ELEUSINIAN, celebrated

^h Μάλιστα μὲν, ὃ βέλτιστε, ὥσπερ σὺ κολλάσεις αἰωνίως νομίζεις· ἔγωγε καὶ οἱ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐκείνων ἐξηγηταὶ τελεσταί τε καὶ μυσαλῶγοί, l. viii. p. 408. And that nothing absurd was taught in the Mysteries concerning a future State, I collect from the Answer *Origen* makes to *Celsus*, who had preferred what was taught in the Mysteries of *Bacchus* on that Point, to what the Christian Religion revealed concerning it — οὐδὲ μὲν ἐν τῇ Βακχικῇ τελετῇ εἴτε τίς ἐστι πιθανὸς λόγος, εἴτε μηδεὶς τοιοῦτος. — l. iv. p. 167.

ⁱ Aët. II.

^k Περὶ δὲ τῆς Δήμητρος καὶ τῆς Κόρης πιστότερον· ὅτι φησὶν ἐν τῇ νῆσῳ πρὸς τῇ Βρετανικῇ, καθ’ ἣν ὅμοια τοῖς ἐν Σαμοθράκῃ οὐδὲ τῇ Δήμητρον καὶ τῇ Κόρην ἱεροποιεῖ. *Strabonis Geogr.* l. iv. The Nature of these *Samothracian* Rites may be seen p. 151.

at *Athens* in Honour of *Ceres*, were by far the most renowned; and, in process of time eclipsed, and, as it were, swallowed up the rest. Their Neighbours all around them very early practised these Mysteries to a Neglect of their own: In a little time all *Greece* and *Asia Minor* were initiated into them: And at length they spread over the whole *Roman Empire*, and even beyond the Limits of it. *Omitto* (says *Tully*) *Eleusinam sanctam illam & augustam; ubi initiantur gentes orarum ultimæ*¹. And we are told in *Zosimus*, that these most holy Rites were then so extensive, as to take in the whole Race of Mankind^m: And *Aristides* calls it the common Temple of the Earthⁿ.

How this happened, is to be accounted for from the Nature of the State, which gave Birth to these Mysteries. *Athens* was a City the most devoted to Religion of any upon the Face of the Earth. On this Account, their Poet *Sophocles* calls it the sacred Building of the Gods^o, in an Allusion to its Foundation. Nor was it a less Compliment *St. Paul* intended to pay the *Athenians*, when he said, Ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ πάντα ὡς δεισιδαιμονεστέρους ὑμᾶς θεωρῶ^p. And *Josephus* tells us, that they were universally esteemed the most religious People of *Greece*^q. Hence *Athens* became the Standard in Matters of Religion to the rest of the World.

In discoursing then of the Mysteries in general, we must be forced to take our Ideas of them, chiefly from what we find practised in these. Nor need

¹ *Nat. Deor.* lib. i.

^m Τα σπώχοντα τὸ ἀνθρώπειον γένος ἀγιώτατα μυστήρια. l. iv.

ⁿ Ὅστις ἐκ κοινόν τι τῇ γῆς τέλει καὶ τῇ Ἐλευσίνῃ ἠγείτο. *Aristides Eleusiniá*.

^o *Electra*, Act. II. Sc. I. ΑΘΗΝΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΘΕΟΔΑΜΗΤΩΝ. —

^p Act. Apost. xvii. 22.

^q — Ὅσεδες αὐτὸς καὶ Ἕλληνας ἅπαντες λέγουσιν. *Cont. Apion*, l. ii.

we fear to be mistaken, the End of all being the same, and all having their common Original from *Egypt*.

To begin with the Purpose and Design of their Institution. This will be seen, by shewing what they communicated promiscuously to all.

To support the Doctrine of a Providence, which they taught presided over the Universe^r, they enforced, by all kinds of Methods, the Belief of a *future State* of Rewards and Punishments^s. But as this did not quite clear up the mysterious Ways of Providence, they added to it, the Doctrine of the Metempsychosis, or the Belief of a *prior State*: As we learn from *Cicero*, and *Porphyry*^t, who informs us that it was taught in the Mysteries of the *Persian* Mythras. This was an ingenious Solution, invented by the *Egyptian* Lawgivers, to remove all Doubts concerning the moral Attributes of God^v; and so consequently, affirm the Belief of his Providence from a future State. For the Legislator well knew how precarious that Belief was, while the moral Attributes of God continued to be doubted of.

In cultivating the Doctrine of a future State, it was taught, that the *Initiated* should be happier in it than all other Mortals: That while the Souls of the Profane, at their leaving the Body, stuck fast

^r *Plutarch de Is. & Osir.*

^s [Mysteriis] neque solum, &c. — Sed etiam cum spe meliore moriendi. *Tull. de Leg.* l. ii. c. 14.

^t Καὶ γὰρ δόγμα πάντων ἐστὶ τὸ πρῶτον, τὸ ΜΕΤΕΜΨΥΧΩΣΙΝ εἶναι ὃ καὶ ἐμπαίνειν εἰκάσιν ἐν τοῖς ἑ M.θρη μυστηρίοις. *De Abst.* l. iv. § 16.

^v So *Tully*. Ex quibus humanæ vitæ erroribus & ærumnis fit, ut interdum veteres illi sive vates, sive in sacris INITIISQUE tradendis divinæ mentis interpretes, qui nos ob aliqua scelera suscepta in vitâ superiore, pœnarum luendarum causâ, natos esse dixerunt, aliquid vidisse videantur. *Fragm. ex lib. de Philosophia.*

in Mire and Filth, and remained in Darknefs, the Souls of the *Initiated* winged their Flight directly to the happy Islands, and the Habitations of the Gods^w. This Promise was necessary for the Support of the Mysteries, as the Mysteries were for the Support of the Doctrine. But now lest it should be mistaken, that Initiation alone, or any other Means than a virtuous Life, intitled to this future Happiness; *they* perpetually inculcated, that it was the chief Business of the Mysteries to restore the Soul to its original Purity. *It was the End and Drift of Initiation* (says Plato) *to restore the Soul to that State, from whence it fell as from its native Seat of Perfection*^x. They made every thing tend to shew the Necessity of Virtue, as appears from these Words of *Epicætetus*. *Thus the Mysteries become useful; thus we seize the true Spirit of them; when we begin to apprehend that every thing therein was instituted by the Ancients, for Instruction and Amendment of Life*^y. Porphyry gives us some of those moral Precepts that were enforced in the Mysteries, as, *to honour their Parents, to offer up Fruits to the Gods, and to forbear Cruelty towards Animals*^z. In pursuance of this Scheme, it was re-

^w Plato in *Phædone* — Aristides Eleusiniâ & apud Stobæum, Serm. 119, &c. Schol. Arist. in *Ranis*. Diog. Laert. in *Vita Cog. Cynici*.

^x Σκοπὸς τῆς τελετῆς ἐστίν, εἰς τέλος ἀναλαβεῖν τὰς ψυχὰς ἐκ αἰῶνος ἀπ' ὧν τὸ πρῶτον ἐποιήσαντο κάθοδον, ὡς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς. In *Phædone*.

^y Οὕτως ὠφέλιμα γίνετ' αἱ μυστήρια· ὥτως εἰς φαντασίαν ἐρχόμεθα· ὅτι ἐπὶ παιδείᾳ καὶ ἐπανορθώσει τῆς βίης καλεσάμεθα πάντα ταῦτα ἀπὸ τῶν παλαιῶν. Apud Arrian. *Dissert.* 1. iii. c. 21. The Reason of my translating εἰς φαντασίαν, in the manner I have done, was, because I imagined the Author, in this obscure Expression, alluded to the Custom in the Mysteries, of calling those who were initiated only in the lesser Μύσαι; but those, in the greater Ἐπόπῃ.

^z Γονεῖς τιμᾶν, Θεὸς καρποῖς ἀγάλλειν, ζῶα μὴ σίνεαθ. De Abst. 1. iv. § 22.

quired in the Aspirant to the *Mysteries* that he should be of an unblemished and virtuous Character, and free even from the Suspicion of any notorious Crime^a. For the Discovery of which he was feverely interrogated by the *Mytagogue*^b. On this Account *Suetonius* tells us, that when *Nero*, after the Murder of his Mother, took a Journey into *Greece*, and had a Mind to be present at the Celebration of the *Eleusinian* Mysteries, the Conscience of his Parricide deterred him from attempting it^c. So the good Emperor *M. Antoninus*, when he would purge himself to the World of the Death of *Avidius Cassius*, chose to be initiated into the *Eleusinian* Mysteries^d; it being notorious to all, that none were admitted to their Participation, who laboured under the just Suspicion of any heinous Immorality. This was originally, one of the fundamental Conditions of Initiation, observed in the Celebrations of all the Mysteries; and instituted by *Bacchus*, or *Osiris* himself the first Inventer of these Rites; who, as *Diodorus* tells us, initiated none but pious and virtuous Men^e. The initiated were enjoined, during the Celebration of the Mysteries, the greatest Purity, and highest Elevation of Mind. *When you sacrifice or pray*, says *Epicetus* in *Arrian*, *go with a prepared Purity of Mind, and with Dispositions so previously disposed, as are required of you when you approach*

^a Οὗτοι γὰρ τὰ τ' ἄλλα καθαροὶ εἶναι τοῖς μύσαις ἐν κοινῇ παραγορεύουσιν, οἷον τὰς χεῖρας τ' ψυχὰς εἶναι. *Libanius Decl.* 19.

^b *Plutarch. in Apophth.* § *Laconicis.*

^c Peregrinatione quidem, *Græciæ*, *Eleusiniis* sacris, quorum initiatione impii & scelerati voce præconis submoverentur, interesse non ausus est. *Vita Neron.* c. 34.

^d *Jul. Capit. Vitâ Ant. Phil.* and *Dion. Cass.*

^e — καλεῖσθαι ὅτι καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς τελείας, καὶ μελαδύναι τῶν μυστηρίων τοῖς δούλοισι τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ δίκαιον βίον ἀσκήσει. l. iii. p. 138. St. Ed.

the ancient Rites and Mysteries^f. It was not lawful, says Tully, so much as to indulge the Imprudence of the Eye in these Mysteries^g. And Proclus tells us that the Mysteries and Initiations drew the Souls of Men from a material, sensual, and merely human Life, and joined them in Communion with the Gods^h. Nor was a less Degree of Exactness required in the future Conduct of the Initiatedⁱ. They were obliged by solemn Engagements to commence a new Life of strictest Purity and Virtue, into which they were entered by a severe Course of Penance, in order to purge the Mind of its natural Defilements. Gregory Nazianzen tells us that *no one could be initiated into the Mysteries of Mithras till he had undergone all sorts of mortifying Tryals and approved himself holy and impassible*^k. The Consideration of all this made Tertullian say, that in the Mysteries, *omnia adversus veritatem, de ipsa veritate constructa esse*^l. And Austin, *Diabolum animas deceptas illusasque præcipitasse, quum polliceretur purgationem animæ per eas, quas ΤΕΛΕΤΑΣ appellat*^m.

The Initiated under this Discipline, and with these Promises, were esteemed the only happy Men. Aristophanes, who speaks the Sense of the People,

^f Καὶ μὲν θυσίας ὅ, καὶ μετ' ὀρχῶν, καὶ προηίνδυνότα, καὶ προδιακείμενον τῇ γνώμῃ, ὅτι ἱεργὸς προσηλδύσειαι καὶ ἱεροῖς παλαμοῖς. *Arrian. Dissert. l. iii. c. 21.*

^g Quò ne imprudentiam quidem oculorum adjici fas est. *De Leg. l. ii. c. 14.*

^h Τὰ τε μυστήρια καὶ τὰς τελείας ἀνάγειν μὲν δὲ τὸ εὖλκ καὶ θνητοειδὲς ζῶνς τὰς ψυχὰς, καὶ συνάπτειν τοῖς θεοῖς. *In Remp. Plat. l. i.*

ⁱ Καὶ τὰ μυστηρίων ἀξιώθεις ἐδεόμην καὶ τὸ παρ' ὑμῶν αἰείτης παιδείας. *Quidam apud Sopatrum in div. quæst.*

^k εἰδὲς ὅ δυνάμει τελείας τὰς τῶν Μίτρων τελείας, εἰ μὴ ἀπὸ πασῶν τῶν κολλάσεων παρέλθοι, καὶ δείξει ἑαυτὸν ἀπαθῆ καὶ ὁσίον. *l. Orat. cont. Julian.*

^l *Apol. c. 47.*

^m *De Trinitate, l. iii. c. 10.*

makes them exult after this Manner: *On us only does the Orb of Day shine benignant, we only receive Pleasure from its Beams: we, who are initiated, and perform towards Citizens and Strangers all Acts of Piety and Justice*ⁿ. And the longer any one had been initiated, the more honourable he was esteemed^o. It was even held scandalous not to be so: and how virtuous soever the Person otherwise appeared, he became suspicious to the People: As *Socrates*; and, in after-times, *Demonax*^p. No wonder then, if the superior Advantages of the Initiated, both here and hereafter, should make the Mysteries universally aspired to. And indeed they soon grew as extensive in the Numbers they embraced, as in the Regions and Countries to which they penetrated: Men, Women, and Children were initiated. Thus *Apuleius*^q describes the State of the Mysteries in his Time: *Influunt turbæ, sacris divinis iniatæ, viri fœminæque, omnis ætatis & omnis dignitatis*. The Pagans would seem as if they thought *Initiation* as necessary as the *Christians* did *Baptism*^r. And the Custom of initiating Children appears, from this Passage of *Terence*^s, to have been general.

ⁿ Μόνοις γ' ἡμῖν ἥλιος
καὶ φέγ' ἱλαρὸν ἔστιν,
ὅσοι μεμυήμεθ', οὐ-
σεβῆ τε διήγομαι
τρόπον, οὐδὲ τε ξένος
καὶ τὰς ἰδιώτας.

Chorus in Ranis, Act. I.

^o Καὶ ὁ μὲν ὀρθοίτελος μύσης ἀτιμότερος τῶ πάλα μύση. *Aristides in Orat. περὶ ὀρθοφθέρμῃ.*

^p *Lucian. Vit. Dem.* ^q *Met. l. xi.*

^r This appears from the following Lines of *Sophocles*:

Τοῖς γ' ὃ μόνους ἐκεῖ
Ζῆν' ἐστὶ τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις πάντ' ἐκεῖ κακά.

^s *Phorm. Act. I. Sc. I.* And *Donatus* on the Place tells us, there was the same Practice of Initiation in the *Samothracian Mysteries*: *Terentius Apollodorum sequitur, apud quem legitur, in Insula Samothracum à certo tempore pueros initiari, more Atheniensium.*

“ Ferietur

“ Ferietur alio munere, ubi Hera pepererit ;
 “ Porro autem alio, ubi erit puero natalis dies,
 “ Ubi INITIABUNT.

Nay they had even the same Superstition with Regard to it, that some *Christians* had concerning Baptism, that is, to defer it to the Approach of Death ; as appears from the honest Farmer *Trygæus* in the *Pax* of *Aristophanes* :

Δεῖ γὰρ μνηθῆναι με πρὶν τεθνηκέναι.

The Reason of all this is given us by the Scholiast on the *Ranæ* of the same Poet. *It was believed by the Athenians, that he who was initiated, and instructed in the Mysteries, should obtain divine Honours after Death: And THEREFORE all ran to be initiated*^c. And their Fondness for it was so great, that at such Times as the public Treasury was low, Admittance into these Mysteries could be made a Fund of, by the State. *Aristogiton*, says the Commentator on *Hermogenes*, in a great Scarcity of public Money, procured a Law, that in Athens every one should pay a certain Sum for his Initiation^v.

Every Thing in these Rites was transacted in Mystery, and under the most religious Seal of Secrecy^w. Which how it could agree, and was best

^c Λόγος γὰρ ἐκράτη παρ' Ἀθηναίοις ὡς ὁ τὰ μυστήρια διδασκόμενος, μετὰ τῇ ἐνθένδε τελευτῇ θείας ἡξιοῦτο τιμῆς· διὸ καὶ πάντες πρὸς τὸ μύησιν ἑσπούδον.

^v Ἀεισογείτων ἐν σπάνει χρημάτων, γράφει νόμον, παρ' Ἀθηναίοις μισθὸν μυστήριον. *Syrianus*.

^w Cum ignotis hominibus *Orpheus* sacrorum ceremonias aperiret, nihil aliud ab his quos initiabat in primo vestibulo nisi jurisjurandi necessitatem, & cum terribili quadam auctoritate religionis, exegit, ne profanis auribus inventæ ac compositiæ religionis secreta proderentur. *Firmicus in limine*, l. 7. *Astrol.* — Nota sunt hæc Græcæ superstitionis Hierophantis, quibus inviolabili lege interdictum erat, ne hæc atque hujusmodi Mystéria apud eos, qui his sacris minimè initiati essent, evulgarent. —

fitted to our Representation of these Mysteries, as an Institution of the State, for the Use of the People, we shall now endeavour to shew.

They were hidden and kept secret for these two Reasons :

I. Because nothing stimulates our Curiosity like that which retires from our Observation, and seems to forbid our Search. Of this Opinion we find the learned *Synesius*, where he says, *The People will despise what is easy and intelligible, and therefore they must always be provided with something wonderful and mysterious in Religion, to hit their Taste, and engage their Curiosity*^x. And again, *the Ignorance of the Mysteries preserves their Veneration; for which Reason, they are entrusted to the Cover of Night*^y. On this Principle the Mysteries were framed. They were kept secret, to excite the Curiosity : They were celebrated in the Night, to impress Veneration and religious Horror^z. And they were performed with Variety of Shews and Representations (of which more hereafter) to infix and perpetuate those Impressions^a. Hitherto then the Mysteries are to be

Nicetas in Gregorii Nazianzeni Orat. εἰς τὰ ἅγια φῶτα. This Obligation on the Initiated to Secrecy was the Reason that the *Egyptian Hieroglyphic* for them was a Grasshopper, which was supposed to have no Mouth. See *Horapollo Hierogl.* l. ii. c. 55.

^x Τὸ δὲ ῥᾶλλον κατασελάσαι τοὺς δῆμους· δεῖ δὲ τερατείας· Τοῦτο τὸ αὐτὸ σκοπὸν ἔχει, καὶ ἀχρηστία (φίσειν ὡς τὰ πολλὰ φαίκεται).

^y Ἀνωσία σεμνότης ἐστὶ τελευτῶσα· καὶ νύξ τῷτο πισδύει τὰ μυστήρια. *Libro de Providentia.*

^z *Euripides* in the *Bacchantes*, *Act.* II. makes *Bacchus* say, that the *Orgies* were celebrated in the Night, because *Darkness* has something solemn and august in it, and proper to fill the Mind with sacred Horror.

^a Διὸ καὶ τὰ μυστήρια ἐν ἈΛΛΗΓΟΡΙΑΙΣ λέγεσθαι, πρὸς ἐκπληξιν καὶ φρίκην, ὥσπερ ἐν ΣΚΟΤΩΙ, καὶ ΝΥΚΤΙ· ὅμοιον δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀπαγγελίαν τῆς σκοτίας καὶ τῇ νυκτὶ. *Demet. Phalereus de Elocutione*, § 110.

considered

considered as invented, not to deter, but to invite the Curiosity of the People. But,

II. They were kept secret from a Necessity of teaching some things to the Initiated, improper to be communicated to all. The learned *Varro* in a Fragment of his Book of Religions, preserved by *St. Augustin*, tells us, that “There were many “Truths, which it was inconvenient for the State “to be generally known; and many things, which, “though false, it was expedient the People should “believe; and that therefore the *Greeks* shut up “their MYSTERIES in the Silence of their sacred “Inclosures^b.”

Now to reconcile this seeming Contradiction, of supposing the Mysteries to be instituted to invite the People into them, and at the same Time, to keep them from the People’s Knowledge, we are to observe that in the *Eleusinian Rites* there were two Mysteries, the greater and the less^c. To the *less* must be referred what we said of the Institutor’s Intention to invite the People into them; and to the *greater*, his Intention of keeping some Truths from the People’s Knowledge. Nor is this said without good Grounds: Antiquity is very express for this Distinction. We are told that the *lesser* Mysteries were only a kind of Preparation for the *greater*^d, and might be easily communicated to all^e. That four Years^f were the usual time of Probation for

^b Multa esse vera, quæ vulgo scire non sit utile; multaque, quæ, tametsi falsa sint, aliter existimare populum expediat. Et ideo *Græcos* TELETAS ac MYSTERIA taciturnitate parietibusque clausisse. *Civ. Dei*, l. iv. c. 31.

^c Ἦσαν τὰ μὲν μεγάλα τῆς Δήμητρος • τὰ δὲ μικρὰ Περσεφόνης τῆς αὐτῆς θυγατρὸς. *Interp. Græc. ad Plut. Aristophanis*.

^d Ἐστὶ τὰ μικρὰ ὥσπερ προκαθαρσις, καὶ προαἰνέσεις τῶν μεγάλων. *Schol. ad Plut. secund. Aristoph.*

^e Ἐπενόησαν μυστήρια δὲ μετέδοτα. *Schol. Aristoph.*

^f — Cum epoptas ante quinquennium instituunt, ut opinionem suspendio cognitionis ædificent. *Tertull. adv. Valentinianos*.

the *greater* Mysteries; in which, as *Clemens Alex.* expressly inform us, the Secrets were deposited &c.

However, as it is very certain, that both the greater and lesser Mysteries were instituted for the Benefit of the State, it follows, that the Doctrines taught in both, were for the Service of Society; only with this Difference, some might, without Inconvenience, be taught promiscuously, others not.

On the whole, the Secret in the *lesser* Mysteries was some hidden *Rites and Shews* to be kept from the People, only to invite their Curiosity; and the Secret in the *greater*, some hidden *Doctrines* to be kept from the People for the very contrary Purpose. For the *Shews* in the *greater* Mysteries were designed, like those in the *lesser*, to excite Men's Curiosity.

But it will be worth while to enquire more particularly into the *hidden Doctrines* of the *greater Mysteries*. The thing seems yet to lie altogether in the dark, so religiously was the Secret preserved. We shall therefore proceed cautiously, and try, from the obscure Hints dropped up and down in Antiquity,

“Pandere res alta terra & caligineertas.

We shall first consider their general Nature: It appears they must needs be such, as, if promiscuously taught, would bring Prejudice to the State; why else were they secreted? and, at the same time, Benefit, if communicated with Caution and Prudence; why else were they taught at all?

This was their general Nature, and from this we may come,

Ἐ ΜΕΤὰ ταῦτα δὲ εἰς τὰ μικρὰ μυστήρια, διδασκαλίας τινα ὑποθεσιν ἔχοντα, καὶ παρασκευῆς τῶν μελλόντων· τὰ δὲ μεγάλα αὖτε τῶν συμπάντων· ὅ μανθάνειν ἔτι ὑπολείπεται, ἐποπτεύειν δὲ, καὶ θεωρεῖν τὴ φύσιν, καὶ τὰ πράγματα. *Strom.* 5.

I. To

I. To the certain Knowledge of what they were not; which is one Step to the Knowledge of what they were.

1. They were not the general Doctrines of a Providence and future State; for these Reasons: Ancient Testimony is most exprefs, that these general Doctrines were taught promiscuously to all the Initiated, and were the very Essence of mysterious Rites. — These were not capable of being hid and secreted, because they were the universal Doctrines of Mankind in Society. — There was no need to hide them; because the public Knowledge of them was so far from being detrimental, that Society, as we have shewn, could not even subsist without their being universally known and believed.

2. These secret Doctrines could not be the metaphysical Speculations of the Philosophers concerning the *Deity*, and the *human Soul*. Because this would be making the *hidden Doctrines* of the Schools of Philosophy, and of the *Mysteries* of Religion, one and the same; which they could not be, because their Ends were different: *That* of the first being only Truth; *that* of the other, Utility^h. — Because revealing such metaphysical Speculations to the Members of Civil Society, as such, with what Precaution soever, would be injurious to the State, and

^h We say, that the professed End of the ancient Philosopher was the Discovery of Truth, and *that* of the Legislator, the Promotion of Utility. But *Both* being ignorant of this momentous Truth, *That Truth and Utility do coincide*, [See B. III. § 2.] they *Both*, in many Cases, missed shamefully of their End. The first, while he neglected *Utility*, falling into the most absurd and fatal Errors concerning the Nature of God and the Soul: [See B. III. § 4.] and the other, while he was too little solicitous about *Truth*, encouraging a Polytheism destructive to Society; to regulate which, he successfully, as we shall see, employed these Mysteries.

productive of no possible good; as we shall see when we come, in the third Book, to examine what those metaphysical Speculations were. — Because those very Speculations, as we shall then see, would overthrow every thing taught to *All*, in the Mysteries, of a Providence and a future State. And yet we are told by the Ancients, that the Doctrines of a Providence, and future State, were the Foundation of the more secret ones, after which we are now enquiring. I have been the more particular in refuting this Notion, that the secret Doctrines of the *Schools*, and of the *Mysteries* might be the same; because I find it to be an Error, that some, even of the most knowing of the Ancients, were apt to run into. What misled them was, — That the Schools, and Mysteries both pretended *to restore the Soul to its original Purity and Perfection*. We have seen how much the Mysteries pretended to it. As to the Philosophers, *Porphyry*, speaking of *Pythagoras*, tells us, that *he professed Philosophy, whose End is to free and vindicate the Soul from those Chains and Confinements, to which its Abode with us hath subjected it*ⁱ. — That the Schools and Mysteries had each their hidden Doctrines, which went under the common Name of ΑΠΟΡΡΗΤΑ; and that, which had a common Name, was understood to have a common Nature. — But chiefly that the Philosopher and Legislator, being frequently in one and the same Person, and consequently the Institutions of the Mysteries and Schools by the same Hand, it appeared reasonable to think, that the ἀπόρρητα, in both, were the same; they not distinguishing the twofold Character of

ⁱ Φιλοσοφίαν δ' ἐφιλοσόφησεν, ἥς ὁ σκοπὸς, εὐσαφὲς καὶ διελευθεῖν καὶ τοιούτων ἐργῶν τε καὶ σωδῆσιν τὴν καὶ κεχωρισμένην ἡμεῖν. *De Vita Pythagoræ.*

the ancient Sage, which shall be explained in its Place ^k.

II. From the Knowledge of what these Secrets were not, deduced from the general Knowledge of what they were, we shall at length arrive to the Discovery of the very Doctrines themselves.

To begin with a Passage of *Clemens Alex.* After these [namely Lustrations] are the lesser Mysteries, in which is laid the Foundation of the hidden Doctrines, and Preparations for what is to come afterwards^l. From a Knowledge of the Foundation, we may be able to form a Plan of the Superstructure. This Foundation, as hath been shewn, was the Belief of a Providence, and future State, and, its Consequence on Practice, Engagements to a virtuous Life. But there was one insuperable Obstacle in Paganism to a Life of Purity and Holiness; which was, the vicious Examples of their Gods. *Ego homuncio hoc non facerem*^m? was the absolving Formulaⁿ, whenever a Man had determined to give

^k See Book III. Sect. 2.

^l Μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ εἰσι τὰ μικρὰ μυστήρια, διδασκαλίας τινὰ ὑπόθεσιν ἔχοντα, καὶ προπαρασκευῆς τῷ μελλόντων. *Strom.* 5.

^m *Terence Eun.* Act III. Sc. V. — *Euripides* puts this Argument into the Mouth of several of his Speakers up and down his Tragedies. *Helen* in the IVth Act of *the Trojan Dames*, says, *How could I resist a Goddess, whom Jupiter himself obeys?* *Ion*, in his Play of that Name, in the latter End of the Ist Act, speaks to the same Purpose: And in the Vth Act of *Hercules Furens*, *Theſeus* consoles his Friend by the Examples of the Crimes of the Gods. See likewise his *Hippolytus*, Act. II. Sc. II.

ⁿ When *St. Austin* had quoted the *Ego homuncio hoc non facerem*, to shew what Mischief these Stories did to the Morals of the People, he makes the Defenders of Paganism say, *At enim non traduntur ista sacris Deorum, sed fabulis poetarum*: To which he replies, by objecting to them the then corrupt State of the Mysteries, *Nolo dicere illa MYSTICA quàm ista theatrica esse turpiora.* *Civ. Dei*, l. ii. c. 7—8.

a Loose to his irregular Appetites°. Now the Mysteries professed to exact nothing difficult of the Initiated^p, which they did not assist him to perform. There was a Necessity then of remedying this Evil by striking at the Root of it. So that, such of the Initiated, as they judged capable, were made acquainted with the whole Delusion. The *Mystagogue* taught them, that *Jupiter, Mercury, Venus, Mars*, and the whole Rabble of licentious Deities, were indeed only dead Mortals, subject, in Life, to the same Passions and Vices with themselves; but having been, on several Accounts, Benefactors to Mankind, grateful Posterity had deified them; and, with their Virtues, had indiscreetly canonized their Vices. The fabulous Gods being thus routed, the supreme Cause of all Things took their Place of Course. Him, they were taught to consider as the Creator of the Universe, who pervaded all Things by his Virtue, and governed all by his Providence^q. From this Time the Initiated had the Title of *Ἐπόπτης*, by which was meant *one that sees Things as they are without Disguise*; whereas before

° — ὁ δὲ πολὺς καὶ ἀφιλοσόφητος ὄχλος ἐπὶ τὰ χεῖρα λαμβάνειν φιλεῖ τὰς περὶ αὐτῶν λόγους καὶ πάχει θάτερον, ἢ καὶ λαφύρειν τῶν θεῶν, ὡς ἐν πολλῇ κακοδαιμονίᾳ κυλινδερμένων· ἢ τῶν αἰχίστων τε καὶ τῶν θρανομοιάτων ἔθενός ἀπέχειται, θεοῖς ὁρῶν αὐτὰ προσκείμενα. *Dion. Halicar. apud Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. ii, c. 8.*

^p Ἄλλ' ἔσομαι ἀλλὰ τὴν τελειήν πρὸς πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν ἐτοιμότης. *Sorat. in Div. Quæst.* Καθάπερ ἄλλω μυστηρίῳ προηλεσθεῖς τῇ σιωπῇ, τῶν ἄλλων ἀμαρτημάτων λοιπὸν τὸ ἑμαυτῷ βίον ἐκάθαιρην, καὶ πρὸς τὴν θεῖαν τῶν θεῶν τελειήν ἐπειγόμενος, ἐκκλίνειν τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων ἐσπέρδαζον. *Sorat. ibidem.*

^q But here it is to be observed, that this Discovery of the *Supreme Cause of all Things* was not made to the Destruction of the Notion of local tutelary Deities, Beings superior to Men, and inferior to God, and by him set over the several Parts of his Creation. This was an Opinion universally held by Antiquity, and never brought into Question by any Theist. What the *ἀπὸρρητὰ* overthrew, was the vulgar Polytheism or Worship of dead Men.

he was called Μῦσης, which has a contrary Signification. But, besides the Prevention of Vice, this Detection of the National Gods, in the greater Mysteries, had another momentous Use, which was to excite Heroic Virtue in the Minds of the Initiated, by shewing them to what Honours the Benefactors of Nations had arrived by the Exercise of that Virtue.

Thus we see, how what was taught and required in the *lesser Mysteries*, became the Foundation of Instruction in the *greater*: The Obligation to a good Life in *those*, made it necessary to remove the Errors of vulgar Polytheism in *these*; and the Doctrine of a Providence taught *there*, facilitated the Reception of the sole Cause of all things *here*.

These were the Truths which *Varro*, as quoted above, tells us it was not expedient for the State, should be generally known^r: imagining the Error of vulgar Polytheism to be so inveterate, as not to be expelled, without throwing the Society into Convulsions. But *Plato* spoke out: he owned *it to be difficult to find the Father and Creator of the Universe; and, when found, as impossible to discover him to all the World*^s.

Besides, there was another Reason why the Institutions of the Mysteries, who were *Lawgivers*,

^r These too were the Truths which the Pontifex *Scævola* said were to be kept hid from the People. Relatum est in litteras, doctissimum Pontificem Scævolam disputasse tria genera tradita Deorum; unum a Poetis, alterum a Philosophis, tertium a principibus Civitatis. Primum genus nugatorium dicit esse — Secundum non congruere civitatibus, quod habeat aliqua — quæ obsit populis nosse — Quæ sunt autem illa quæ prolata in multitudinem nocent? “Hæc, inquit, non esse deos Herculem, Æsculapium, Castorem, Pollucem: proditur enim à doctis quod homines fuerint, & humana conditione defecerint.” — *Augustin. de Civit. Dei*, l. iv. c. 27.

^s Τὸν μὲν ἐν ποιητῇ καὶ παλαιοῖς τῶνδε ἑ παντὸς ἀρετῇ τε ἔργον, καὶ ἀρετῇ εἰς πάντας ἀδυσίατον λέγειν. *In Timæo*.

should be for keeping this Truth secret. They had had, as we have shewn, the greatest Stroke in the Rise of the vulgar Polytheism. They contrived it for the sake of the State; and to keep the People in awe, under a greater Veneration for their Laws. *This* Polytheism the Poets had depraved, by inventing or recording vicious Stories of the Gods and Heroes, which the Legislators would have stifled. And they were only such Stories, that, in their Opinion, made Polytheism hurtful to the State, as may be seen in *Plato*.

That this Account of the *Ἀπορρητὰ*, in the *greater Mysteries*, is no precarious Conjecture, formed merely on Imagination, I shall now shew.

The *Egyptian* Mystagogues, in their more secret Rites, taught the Unity of the Godhead, as is made very evident by the great *Cudworth*^t. But it is proved, that the *Grecian*, and *Asiatic* Mysteries were borrowed from these; so that here is a very strong Presumption of the Fact.

But to bring it more directly home: *Chrysippus*, as quoted by the Author of the *Etymol. Magnum*, speaks to this Purpose: “And *Chrysippus* says, “that the secret Doctrines concerning divine Mat-
“ters, are rightly called *Τελεταί*; for that these
“ought to be the last things the Initiated should
“be informed of: the Soul having gained an able
“Support; and being possessed of her Desires,
“can keep silent before the Uninitiated and Pro-
“fane. For it is a great Prerogative to be able
“to receive just and right Notions concerning the
“Gods, and to comprehend and retain them when
“received.” To the same Purpose *Clemens*:

^t *Intell. System*, c. iv. § 18.

^v Χρύσιππος ὁ φησὶ, τὰς περὶ τῶν θεῶν λόγους εἰκότως καλεῖσθαι τελετάς· χρῆναι γὰρ τέτοις τελεταῖαις, καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσι διδάσκεισθαι· τῇ ψυχῇ ἐχέσσης ἔργα, καὶ κεκρατημένης, καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἀμυήτας σιωπᾶν

“The

“ The Doctrines delivered in the great Mysteries
 “ are concerning the Universe. Here ends all
 “ Instruction; Things are seen as they are, and
 “ Nature, and the Things of Nature, are given
 “ to be comprehended w.” And *Pythagoras* him-
 self, as we find him quoted in *Jamblicus*, tells us,
 that in the *Thracian* Mysteries of *Orpheus*, he was
 instructed in the Unity of the first Cause; which in
 his obscure *Pythagoric* Way he thus expresses: *That*
the eternal Substance of Number was the Principle, most
providential, of the Universe, of Heaven, and Earth,
and of the middle Natures x. But *Tully* fully reveals
 the whole Mystery; and confirms every thing we
 have said concerning it. “ But what? is not al-
 “ most all Heaven (not to carry on this Detail any
 “ farther) filled with the human Race? But if I
 “ should attempt to examine Antiquity, and, from
 “ those Things which the *Grecian* Writers have de-
 “ livered, search to the Bottom of this Affair; it
 “ would be found, that even those very Gods them-
 “ selves, who are esteemed the *Dii majorum gentium*,
 “ had their Original here below; and took their
 “ Flight from hence into Heaven. Enquire whose
 “ Sepulchres those are, which are so commonly
 “ shewn in *Greece*. REMEMBER, for you are ini-
 “ tiated, WHAT YOU HAVE BEEN TAUGHT IN
 “ THE MYSTERIES; THEN YOU WILL, AT
 “ LENGTH, UNDERSTAND HOW FAR THIS MAT-
 “ TER MAY BE CARRIED y.” But *Tully* goes far-

δυναμότης· μέγα γὰρ ἔστι τὸ αἶθρον, ὑπὲρ θεῶν ἀκῆσαι τε ὄρεα, καὶ
 ἐκκρατεῖς ἡμέας αὐτῷ. *Etymol. Auctor in Τελεῇ.*

w Ταῦτα ἡ μεγάλα περὶ τῶν συμπάντων· ὅτι μαρτυρεῖν ἔτι ὑπελείπει,
 ἐποπιδύειν ἡ καὶ θεωρεῖν τὴν φύσιν καὶ τὰ πράγματα. *Strom. 5.*

x Ἀεθμῶν ὅσιν αἰδίων ἔστι μὴ ἀρχάν, πομπαστάται τῷ παντί
 ὡρανῶ καὶ γὰρ, καὶ τὰς μετὰ φύσιν. *De Vita Pyth. § 146.*

y Quid? totum propè cælum, ne plures persequar, nonne hu-
 mano genere completum est? Si vero scrutari vetera, & ex his
 ea, quæ *Scriptores Græciæ* prodiderunt, eruere coner; ipsi illi,

ther, he tells us in another Place, that not only the *Eleusinian* Mysteries, but likewise the *Samothracian*, and the *Lemnian*, taught the Error of Polytheism, agreeably to our Hypothesis; which supposes all the Mysteries derived from the same Original, and constituted for the same End. “What think you
 “of those who say that valiant, or famous, or powerful Men have obtained divine Honours after
 “Death; and that those are the very Gods that are
 “now become the Objects of our Worship, our
 “Prayers, and Adoration? — *Euhemerus* tells us
 “where these Gods died, and where they lie
 “entombed. *I omit to speak of the sacred and august Rites of Eleusis — I pass by Samothrace and
 “the mysteries of Lemnos, whose hidden Rites are
 “celebrated in Darkness, and amidst the thick Shades
 “of the Forest^z.*”

majorum gentium Dii qui habentur, hinc a nobis profecti in cœlum reperiuntur. Quære, quorum demonstrantur sepulchra in *Græcia*: REMINISCERE, QUONIAM ES INITIATUS, QUÆ TRADANTUR MYSTERIIS; TUM DENIQUE QUAM HOC LATE PATEAT, INTELLIGES. *Tusc. Disp. l. i. c. 12, 13.*

^z Quid, qui aut fortes, aut claros, aut potentes viros tradunt post mortem ad Deos pervenisse, eosque esse ipsos, quos nos colere, precari, venerarique soleamus. — Ab Euhemero & mortes & sepulturæ demonstrantur deorum. Omitto Eleusinem sanctam illam & augustam. — Prætereo Samothraciam, eaque

Quæ Lemni

Nocturno aditu occulta coluntur

Silvestribus sepibus densa.

De Nat. Deor. l. i. c. 42. The Words that follow are: *Quibus explicatis ad rationemque revocatis, rerum magis natura cognoscitur, quam Deorum.* Which Mr. *Pluché*, in his *Histoire du Ciel*, brings to prove that the Purpose of the Mysteries was not to explain the Nature of the Gods, and translates thus: *Quand ces mysteres sont expliqués & ramenés à leur vrai sens, il se trouve que c'est moins la nature des Dieux qu'on nous y apprend que la nature des choses mêmes, ou des vérités dont nous avons besoin, p. 401. Hist. du Ciel, 2^{de} Ed.* But had he understood or attended to the Dispute carrying on in the Dialogue, from whence these Words of *Cicero* are taken, it is impossible he should have thus mistaken

Julius

Julius Firmicus speaks much to the same purpose, in his Book of the *Error of Paganism*^a.

What has been here said will let us into the full Meaning of what *Plutarch* hints at in the following

the Sense of his Author. The Reader now sees the whole Passage ; in which it is said, that *Euhemerus* taught the Nature of the Gods, that they were dead Men deified ; and in which it is expressly intimated, that the *Eleusinian* and *Samothracian Mysteries* taught the same Doctrine ; yet according to our Translator it is immediately added, that when these Mysteries are explained and brought back to their true Sense, it is found, that not so much the Nature of the Gods is taught in them, as the Nature of Things, or those Truths which our Necessities require us to be instructed in. That is, the Mysteries did and they did not teach the Nature of the Gods. Is it for such kind of Talk as this we have so long admired the Reasoning of *Cicero* ? But we shall see the Words *quibus explicatis ad rationemque revocatis, &c.* have a quite different Meaning. *Velleius*, the *Epicurean*, had undertaken to explain the Nature of the Gods. *Cotta* the *Academic*, in his Answer to him, shews that, under Pretence of teaching the Nature of the Gods, he took away all Religion ; just as those did, who said the Notion of the immortal Gods was invented by Politicians, for the Use of Society ; just as *Prodicus Cbius* did, who said Men made Gods of every thing they found beneficial to them ; just as *Euhemerus* did, who said they were dead Men deified ; I omit (says *Cotta*) to speak of what is taught in the Mysteries : And then follow the Words in Question : *Quibus explicatis ad rationemque revocatis, rerum magis natura cognoscitur quam Deorum : i. e.* If you will weigh (says *Cotta*) and consider all these Opinions, so like your own, they will lead us to the Knowledge not of the Nature of the Gods, which you, *Velleius*, proposed to discourse of, but to the Nature of Things, which is quite another Consideration. This Conclusion of *Cotta's* is to the Point, and shews *Velleius* had rambled from his Argument. But what our Translator makes him say is to nobody's Purpose but his own. In a word, *Quibus explicatis, &c.* relates to all *Cotta* had said of the *Epicureans*, of those who made Religion the Invention of Statesmen, of *Prodicus Cbius*, of *Euhemerus*, and of the Mysteries : But *M. Pluche* took it to relate only to the Mysteries.

^a Adhuc supersunt aliæ superstitiones, quarum secreta pandenda sunt Liberi & Liberæ, quæ omnia sacris sensibus vestris specialiter intimanda sunt, ut in istis profanis Religionibus sciatis mortes esse hominum consecratas. Liber, itaque, Jovis fuit filius, regis scil. Cretici, &c. *De Errore Profan. Relig. c. 6.*

Passage

Passage of his Tract *about the ceasing of Oracles*.

“As to the *Mysteries*, in whose Representations the true Nature of Demons is most clearly and accurately held forth, a sacred Silence is to be observed, to use an Expression of *Herodotus* ^a.”

Thus, I think I have made it evident, that the *Συμπόρηναι*, in the greater Mysteries, were the Detection of the Origine of vulgar Polytheism ^b, and Instruction in the Doctrine of the Unity.

I will venture to go farther, and undertake to give the very HISTORY repeated, and the very HYMN sung on these two Heads to the *Initiated*. Now it appears to me, that the celebrated Fragment of *Sanchoniatho*, preserved by *Eusebius* ^c, is no other than that HISTORY or Genealogy of the Gods, which was wont to be repeated to the *initiated*, in the Celebration of the *Egyptian* and *Phenician Mysteries*; by which we are informed that their popular Gods, whose History is there given according to their Generations, were only dead Men deified ^d.

^a Περὶ τῶν μυστικῶν ἐν οἷς τὰς μεγίστας ἐμφάσεις καὶ ἀγφάσεις λαβεῖν ἐστὶ τὸ περὶ δαιμόνων ἀληθείας, εὖτομά μοι κείδω, καθ' Ἡρόδοτον. p. 742. St. Ed.

^b All this will give Light to an odd Story, which the Ancients tell of a mad Freak of *Alcibiades* and his Companions, in a Night Ramble, just before his *Syracusan* Expedition. *Thucydides*, *Plutarch*, and others, inform us, that he acted over with, and revealed to his Companions the Mysteries of *Ceres*; and that he broke all the Statues of *Hermes*. These are spoken of as distinct Actions, which had no Relation to one another: But now we see their Connexion, and how one was the Consequence of the other: For having revealed the Secret of the Unity, and the Original of Polytheism to his Friends; nothing was more natural, than for Men heated with Wine, to run out in a kind of religious Fury, and break the Statues of the Gods.

^c *Præpar. Evangel.* l. i.

^d Ὅδε προγῶν, ἢ τ' ἐπὶ πάντων Θεῶν, εἰδὲ μὴν τὰς κατ' ἕνα, ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν, εἰδὲ τ' τρέπον ἀγείας, οἷος δι' ἀρετὴν ἀξίον εἶναι ἀποδέξασθαι — θεολογεῖ. *Euseb. Præp. Evang.* p. 20.

This curious record both *Philo* the Translator, and *Porphyrus* tell us was transcribed by *Sanchoiatho* from the sacred Writings of *Thoth*, the Institutor and Hierophant of the *Egyptian* Mysteries; from whom the *Cabiri*, or *Corybantes*, or *Samothraces* received those Mysteries, and, with them, this *Genealogy*, which they carried into several Parts of *Greece* and *Asia*: and from those of *Berytus* *Sanchoiatho* immediately received it.

As to the Hymn, in the *Eleusinian* Mysteries, in which was sung the Unity of the Deity, by the Hierophant, who, it is remarkable, was habited like the Creator^e, I take it to be that quoted by *Clement Alexandrinus*^f and *Eusebius*^g; which begins thus: “ I will declare a Secret to the Initiated; but
 “ let the Doors be shut against the Profane. But
 “ thou, O *Museus*, the Offspring of fair *Selene*,
 “ attend carefully to my Song; for I shall speak
 “ of the most important Truths. Suffer not there-
 “ fore the former Prepossessions of thy Mind to
 “ deprive thee of that happy Life, which the Know-
 “ ledge of these mysterious Truths will procure unto

This confirms what I have said above, that the Reason why the Institutors of the Mysteries took Care to expose the Error of Polytheism was, lest the vicious Examples of their Gods should corrupt the Morals of their Worshipers.

^e Ἐν ᾧ τοῖς κατ’ Ἐλευσῖνα μυστηρίοις, ὁ μὲν ἱεροφάντης εἰς εἰκόνα
 ὁ δὲ δημοσίευσεν ἐν σκευαζέ. *Euseb. Præp. Evang.* l. iii. A Passage in *Porphyrus* well explains this of *Eusebius*, and shews what kind of Personage the Creator was represented by; and that it was like all the rest, of *Egyptian* Original; and introduced into these secret Mysteries for the Reason above explained: “ *Ægyptiorum*
 “ autem Deorum Symbola talia sunt: CREATOREM *Ægyptii*
 “ *Emeph* appellant: cujus imaginem in FORMA HOMINIS faciunt, colore cæruleo, Zonam tenentem & Sceptrum, cujus in
 “ capite pennam ponunt. Significantes DIFFICILEM INVENTUM
 “ ESSE CREATOREM, & nemini conspicuum, vivificum etiam
 “ & Regem, & intelligibili motu circulatum, &c.”

^f *Admonitio ad Gentes.*

^g *Præp. Evang.* l. xiii.

“ thee

“ thee: But look on the Divine Nature, incessantly
 “ contemplate it, and govern well the Mind and
 “ Heart. Go on, in the right Way, and see THE
 “ SOLE GOVERNOR OF THE WORLD: HE IS ONE,
 “ AND OF HIMSELF ALONE; AND TO THAT ONE
 “ ALL THINGS OWE THEIR BEING. HE OPE-
 “ RATES THROUGH ALL, WAS NEVER SEEN BY
 “ MORTAL EYES, BUT DOES HIMSELF SEE EVERY
 “ THING^h.” The Reasons, which induce me to
 think this to be the very Hymn sung in the My-
 steries on this Occasion, are these: 1. We learn
 from the Scholiast on *Aristophanes* and others, that
 there were Hymns sung in the Mysteries. 2. *Or-
 pheus*, as we have said, first brought the Mysteries
 from *Egypt* into *Thrace*, and even Religion itself.
 Hence it was called *Θρησκεία*, as being supposed the
 Invention of the *Thracian*. 3. The Verses, which
 go under the Name of *Orpheus*, are, at least, more
 ancient than *Plato* and *Herodotus*; though since in-
 terpolated. The common Opinion was for their
 Genuineness; and those who doubted of that, gave

^h Φθέγξομαι οἷς θέμις ἐστὶ, θύρας δ' ἐπίθεσθε βεβήλοισι
 Πᾶσιν ὁμῶς· σὺ δ' ἄκχε, φαεσφόρῃ ἐκλόνε μῆνης,
 Μυσαῖ', ἐξερέω γὰρ ἀληθεία, μηδὲ σε τὰ πρὶν
 Ἐν γήθεσι φανέντα φίλης αἰῶν' ἀμέρῃ.
 Εἰς δ' ὃ λόγον θεῖον βλέψας, τάτῳ προσέδρῄς,
 Ἰθυῶν κρηδίνης νοερὸν κύτῳ· εὐ δ' ἐπίβαινε
 Ἀτραπιῖ· μῆνον δ' ἐσόρε κόσμοιο ἀνακτα.
 Εἰς δ' ἔς' αὐτοχρῆς, ἐνὸς ἐκλόνος πάντα τέτυκ'),
 Ἐν δ' αὐτοῖς αὐτὸς ᾤονόσσε). εἰδὲ τις αὐτὸν
 Εἰσορᾷα θνητῷ, αὐτὸς δέ γε πάντας ὁρᾷ).

The Phrase *Φίλης αἰῶν' ἀμέρῃ* is taken from *Homer*, who used it literally, as did *Hesiod*. Nor did the Author of this Hymn much deviate from that Sense. For Initiation into the Mysteries was esteemed a new Life; the restoring the Soul, as *Plato* says, to its original Perfection. Thus we see in the Chorus of the Initiated in *Aristophanes*, quoted above, they reckoned that *they only enjoyed the Light of the Sun, and received Benefit from his Beams*; or, in other Words, that they only could be esteemed alive.

them

them to the earliest *Pythagoreans*ⁱ. 4. The Subject of them are the Mysteries, under the several Titles of ^k Θρονισμοὶ μῆτρῶι, τελεταὶ, ἱερὸς λόγος, and ἡ εἰς αὐτὰ καλὰ βασίς. 5. *Pausanias* tells us, that *Orpheus's* Hymns were sung in the Rites of *Ceres*, in preference to *Homer's*, though more elegant, for the Reasons we have given above^l. 6. This Hymn is addressed to *Museus*, his Disciple, who was said, tho' falsely, to institute the Mysteries at *Athens*, as his Master had done in *Thrace*^m; and begins with the Formulary used by the Mystagogue on that Occasion, warning the Profane to keep at distance: and in the fourth Line, mentions that new Life or Regeneration of Perfection, which the Initiated were taught to aspire to, as hath been seen above. 7. No other Original, than the singing the Hymns of *Orpheus* in the *Eleusinian* Mysteries, can be well imagined of that popular Opinion mentioned by *Theodoret* that *Orpheus* instituted those Mysteriesⁿ, when the *Athenians* had such certain Records of another Institutor. 8. We are told that one Article of the *Athenians's* Charge against *Diagoras* for revealing the Mysteries, was his making the *Orphic Speech* or Hymn the Subject of his common Con-

ⁱ *Laertius in Vita Pythag.* and *Suidas Voce 'Ορφέως*.

^k The following Passage will explain the Meaning of this Θρονισμὸς — Καθάπερ εἰώθασιν ἐν τῇ καλῇ μύρῳ ΘΡΟΝΙΣΜΩι καθίσαντες τὰς μυητῶν οἱ τελετῶν, κύκλῳ περιχορεύειν. *Dion. Chrys. Orat. 12.*

^l Ὅστις δὲ περὶ ποιήσεως ἐπολυπραγμόνησεν, ἤδη τὰς Ὀρφέως ὕμνους οἶδεν ὄντας, ἕκαστον τε αὐτῶν, ἐπὶ βραχύτατον, καὶ τὸ σύνπαν εὖ καὶ εἰς ἀειθρὸν πολλὴν πεποιημένους. Λυκομήδαι δὲ ἴσασι τε καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς δρωμένοις· κόσμῳ μὲν δὴ τῷ ἐπὶ δεισιθεῖα φέρουσιν αὐτὸν, μὲν Ὀμήρου γε τὰς ὕμνους· τιμῆς δὲ ἐν τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἐς πλεονεξίων ἐχουσι. *Pausan. l. ix. c. 30. sub fin.* And again, to the same Purpose, c. 27.

^m *Tertull. Apol.*

ⁿ See Note (d) pag. 132.

versation °. 9. But lastly, the Account, which *Clemens* gives of this Hymn, seems to put the Matter out of question: His Words are these: *But the Thracian Mystagogue, who was at the same Time a Poet, Orpheus the Son of Oeager, after he had opened the Mysteries, and sung the whole Theology of Idols, recants all he had said, and introduceth Truth. The Sacred then truly begin, though late, and thus he enters upon the Matter* P. To understand the Force of these Words, we are to know, that the Mystagogue explained the Representations in the Mysteries; where, as we learn from *Apuleius* q, the supernal and infernal Gods passed in Review. To each of these, they sung an Hymn; which *Clemens* calls the *Theology of Images, or Idols*. These are yet to be seen amongst the Works, attributed to *Orpheus*. When all this was over, then came the *ὑπόρρησις* delivered in the Hymn in Question. And after that the Assembly was dismissed, with these two barbarous Words, ΚΟΤΞ ΟΜΠΑΞ, which shews the Mysteries not to have been originally Greek. The learned Mr. *Le Clerc* well observes, that this seems to be only an ill Pronunciation of *Kots* and *Omphets*, which, he tells us, signifies in the *Phenician* Tongue, *watch and abstain from Evil* r.

Thus the Reader sees at length, the End and Use both of the greater and lesser Mysteries: and that, as well in what they hid, as in what they divulged,

° Διαγόρα μὲν γὰρ εἰκότως ἐνεκάλειν Ἀθηναῖοι, μὴ μόνον τὸ ΟΡΦΙΚΟΝ εἰς μέσον κατὰ μὲν ΛΟΓΟΝ, καὶ τὰ ἐν ἑλδύσιν, καὶ τὰ τῶν Καθεύρων δημόσιον μυστήριον. *Athenagoras in Legat.*

P Ὁ δὲ Θεάκιος ἱεροφάντης καὶ ποιητὴς ἄμα, ὁ δὲ Οἰάγρη Ὀρφεύς, μὲν καὶ τὸ Ὁργίων ἱεροφάντιαν, καὶ τὸ εἰδὼλων τὴν Θεολογίαν, παλινωδίαν ἀληθείας εἰσάγει, τὸ ἱερὸν ὅντως ὁψέ ποιε, ὅμως δ' εἰν ἄδων λόγον. *Admon. ad Gentes.*

q *Met.* l. xi.

r *Bibl. Univ.* tom. vi. p. 86.

all aimed at the Benefit of the State. To this End, they were to draw in as many as they could to their general Participation; which they did by spreading abroad the Doctrine of a Providence, and a future State; and how much happier the Initiated should be, and what superior Felicities they were intitled to in another Life. And this is the Reason that Antiquity is so full and express as to this Matter. But then, they were to make those they had got in as virtuous as possible; which could be done only by discovering, to such as were capable of being intrusted with the Secret, the whole Delusion of Polytheism. Now, this being supposed the shaking Foundations, was to be revealed with all possible Caution and Circumspection; and under the most tremendous Seal of Secrecy^s. And this is the Reason so little is to be met with in Antiquity concerning the ἀπορρήτα; *Varro*, and *Cicero*, the two most inquisitive Persons in Antiquity, affording us but a glimmering Light; The first giving us a short Account of the Cause only of the *secret Doctrine*, without mentioning the Thing; and the other, a Hint of the Thing, without any Notice of the Cause. And it is no Wonder, for the Betrayers of the Mysteries were punished capitally^t, and with merciless Severity. The Case of *Diagoras*, the *Melian*, is too remarkable to be omitted.

^s See c. 20. of *Meursius's Eleusinia*.

^t Si quis arcanae Mysteria Cereris sacra vulgasset, lege morti addicebatur. Τὸν ἐξερρόντα τὰ μυστήρια τεθνάναι. Meminit hujus Legis Sopater in Divisione Quaestionis. *Sam. Petit in Leges Atticas*, p. 33. This is the Reason that *Apuleius*, in the Account of his Initiation, *Met.* l. xi. after he has hinted at the extraordinary Things there communicated to him, adds, *Quaerquamvis audita, ignores tamen necesse est*. As much as to say, *which altho' you hear, yet are you to seem (so strict a Silence must you observe concerning them) as if you were altogether ignorant of them*. But *Pricæus*, not apprehending this matter, says, that

This Man had revealed the *Orphic* and *Eleusinian* Mysteries: On which Account, he passed with the People for an Atheist; this at once confirms what I have said of the Subject of the *secret Doctrines*; and of the Prejudice an indiscreet Communication of them would be, to the State. He likewise dissuaded his Friends from being initiated into these Rites: The Consequence of which was that the City of *Athens* proscribed him, and set a Price upon his Head^v; while *Socrates*, who preached up the same kind of Doctrine, and so likewise was a reputed Atheist, and *Epicurus*, who was a real one, because they taught these Matters only as Principles of their Philosophy to their own Sect, were suffered to live long unmolested. And this, perhaps, was the Reason why *Socrates* declined being initiated^w. Which, as it was a singular Affectation, exposed him to much Censure^x. But while he continued so, the Doctrines he taught could never be wrested to be the revealing the ἀπορρητὰ of the Mysteries. And what Danger there was in an Imputation of this kind, he had a terrible Instance in the Poet *Æschylus*: who, on the mere Imagination of the People, that he had given a Hint in his Scenes of something in the Mysteries, had like to have been torn in Pieces on the Stage: but flying to the Altar of *Bacchus*, he got Respite to appeal to

the *Oxford* and three other MSS read fuller and better, *Quæquamvis audita ignores, tamen credere necesse est*. An evident Interpolation of some Monk, who was hearkening to the infallible Decisions of the Holy See, while he was transcribing this Pagan Fable.

^v *Suidas* voce Διαγόρας ὁ Μήλιος — & etiam *Athenagoras* in *Legatione*.

^w For that he had a good Opinion of the Mysteries, appears from the *Phædo* of *Plato*.

^x Καὶ ἡ σοφία ὅτι — ὅτε ἐμυήθη μόνος ἀπάντων ταῖς Ἐλευσινίαις. *Lucianus Demonastæ*.

the *Areopagus*, which acquitted him of that dangerous Suspicion^y.

But here now a remarkable *Exception* to all we have advanced concerning the *Secrecy* of the *Mysteries*, obtrudes itself upon us, in the Case of the *Cretans*; who, as *Diodorus Siculus* assures us, celebrated their *Mysteries* openly, and taught every Thing without reserve. His Words are these: *At Cnossus, in Crete, it was provided for by an ancient Law, that these Mysteries should be shewn openly to all: and that those Things, which in other Places were delivered in secret, should be hid from none who were desirous of knowing them^z.* Now, as contrary as this appears to what hath been said above, it will, on attentive Reflection, be found altogether to confirm it. We have shewn above, that the grand Secret was the Detection of Polytheism; which was done, as appears by *Cicero*, in teaching the Original of the Gods; who were dead Mortals, raised to divine Honour, for publick Benefits done to their Country, or Mankind. But, it is to be observed, that the *Cretans* proclaimed this to all the World, by shewing, and boasting of the Tomb of *Jupiter* himself, the *Father of Gods and Men*. How then could they tell that as a Secret in their *Mysteries*, which they told to every one out of them? And this being the only Secret the *Mysteries* had, it is plain, the *Cretan Mysteries* must be without a Secret. And it is remarkable that the *Cretans* themselves, as *Diodorus*, in the same Place, tells us, gave this very Circumstance of their celebrating the

^y *Clemens Alex. Strom. 2. & Aristoteles l. iii. c. 1. Nicom. Eth. ad locum Eustratius.*

^z Καὶ ὁ Κρήτην ἐν Κνωσῶ νόμιμον ἐξ ἀρχαίων εἶναι φανερῶς τὰς τελείας τὰς πᾶσι ᾠδαδίδοσθαι, καὶ τὰ ᾠδὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐν ἀπεργήτῳ ᾠδαδεδομῆναι, παρ' αὐτοῖς μηδένα κρύπτειν τῷ βυλομῆναι τὰ τοιαῦτα γινώσκειν. *Biblioth. l. v.*

Mysteries openly as a Proof of their being the first who had consecrated dead Mortals. These, are the old Stories which the Cretans tell of their Gods, who they pretend to say were born amongst them. And they urge this as an invincible Reason to prove, that the Adoration, the Worship, and the MYSTERIES of these Gods were first derived from Crete to the rest of the World, because whereas, amongst the Athenians, those most illustrious Mysteries of all, called the Eleusinian, those of Samothrace, and those of the Ciconians in Thrace, of Orpheus's Institution, are all celebrated in Secret: yet in Crete^a — and so on as above. For it seems the Cretans were proud of their Invention; and used this Method to divulge, and propagate the Notice of it. This it was that so exasperated the other Grecians against them; and gave Birth to the common Proverb of ΚΡΗΤΕΣ ΑΕΙ ΨΕΥΣΤΑΙ^b, the Cretans are eternal Liars. For nothing could more affront the Idol Worshipers than the one, or more displease the politic Protectors of the Mysteries, than the other.

The Mysteries then being of so great Service to the State, we shall not be surprized to hear the

^a Περὶ μὲν ἂν τῶν Θεῶν οἱ Κρήτες τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς λεγομένων γυνή-
θηναι τοιαῦτα μυθολογεῖσι· τὰς δὲ τιμὰς καὶ θυσίας καὶ τὰς κατὰ τὰ
μυστήρια τελείας ἐν Κρήτῃ εἰς τὰς ἄλλας ἀνθρώπους ᾤδεδόσθαι
λέγοντες, τὰτ' ἐφέρουσιν, ὡς οἶονταί, μέγιστον τεκμήριον· τήντε γὰρ παρ'
Ἀθηναίοις ἐν Ἐλευσίνι γινομένην τελεὴν, ἐπιφανεστάτῃ χειρὶν ἔσαν
εἰπάσων, καὶ τὴν ἐν Σαμοθράκῃ, καὶ τὴν ἐν Θράκῃ ἐν τοῖς Κικόσι
(ὅθεν ὁ καὶ Ἰαδείξας Ὀρφεὺς ἦν) μυστικῶς ᾤδεδίδαξ· καὶ δὲ τὴν
Κρήτῃ —

^b Κρήτες αἰεὶ ψεύσται· καὶ γὰρ τάφον, ὦ ἄνα, πεῖο

Κρήτες ἐτεκλήναντο.

Callim. Hymn. in Jovem.

And Nonnus:

Οὐ γὰρ αἰεὶ παρέμιμνε Διὸς ΨΕΥΔΗΜΟΝΙ ΤΥΜΒΩΙ,

Τετραποδὴν Κρήτεσσιν, ἐπεὶ πῶλον ἠπεροπῆες. Dionys. l. viii.

And Lucan:

Tam mendax Magni tumulo quam Creta Tonantis. l. 8.

wisest

wisest of the Ancients speaking highly in their Commendation; and their best Lawgivers, and Reformers providing carefully for their Support. Ceres, says *Isocrates*, bath made the Athenians two Presents of the greatest Consequence: Corn, which brought us out of a State of Brutality; and the MYSTERIES, which teach the Initiated to entertain the most agreeable Expectations touching Death and Eternity^c. And *Plato* introduces *Socrates*, speaking after this Manner: In my Opinion, those who established the Mysteries, whoever they were, were well skilled in human Nature. For in these Rites it was of old signified to the Aspirants, that those who died without being initiated, stuck fast in Mire and Filth: but that he who was purified and initiated at his Death should have his Habitation with the Gods^d. And *Tully* thought them of such great Use to Society, for thus preserving and propagating the Doctrine of a future State of Rewards and Punishments, that in the Law where he forbids nocturnal Sacrifices offered by Women, he makes an express Exception for the Mysteries of Ceres, as well as for the Sacrifices to the good Goddess. “Nocturna mulierum sacrificia ne funto, præter olla, quæ pro populo ritè fiant. Neve quem initiant, nisi, ut affolet, Cereri, Græco sacro.” Which Law he thus comments: — “*M.* But now *Titus*, as to what follows, I would fain know how you can give your Assent, or I blame you for with-holding

^c Δήμητρῳ — δόσης δωρεάς διτλάς, αἵπερ μέγισται τυγχάνουσιν ἔσσαι· τὰς τε καρπὰς οἱ ἔμῃ θηριωδῶς ζῆν ἡμᾶς αἴτιοι γεγονόασιν· καὶ τὴν τελευτήν, ἧς οἱ μέλεχοντες πρὸς τὴν βίαν τελευτῆς, καὶ ἔσσυμην παντὶ αἰῶνι ἡδύναι τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχουσιν. *Panegy.*

^d Καὶ κενδυώουσι καὶ οἱ τὰς τελευτὰς ἡμῶν εἰς τοὺς καλῶς ἔσαντες, καὶ φραυλοί τινες εἰσὶν, ἀλλὰ τῷ ὄντι πάλαι αἰνίττεσθαι, ὅτι ὅς ἂν ἀμύητος, καὶ ἀτέλεστος, εἰς ἀδὴν ἀφίκηται, ἐν βορβόρῳ κείσεται· ὁ δὲ κεκαθαρμένος τῇ καὶ τελευτῇ μύθος, ἐκείνῳ ἀφικόμενος, μὴ θείων οἰκῆσθαι. *In Phædone.*

“ it? *A.* What is that I pray you? *M.* The Law
 “ concerning the nocturnal Sacrifices of Women.
 “ *A.* I assent to it, especially as there is an express
 “ Exception to the public and solemn Sacrifice. *M.*
 “ What then will become of our *Eleusinian* Rites,
 “ those reverend and august Mysteries; if, indeed,
 “ we take away nocturnal Celebrations? *For our*
 “ *Laws are calculated, not only for the Roman, but*
 “ *for all just and well established Policies.* *A.* I think
 “ you except those, into which we ourselves have
 “ been initiated. *M.* Doubtless I do: For as, in my
 “ Opinion, your *Athens* hath produced many excel-
 “ lent and even divine Inventions, and applied them
 “ to the Use of Life; so has she given nothing bet-
 “ ter than those Mysteries, by which we are drawn
 “ from an irrational and savage Life, and tamed,
 “ as it were, and broken to Humanity. They are
 “ truly called *INITIA*, for they are indeed the Be-
 “ ginnings of a Life of Reason and Virtue. From
 “ whence we not only receive the Benefits of a more
 “ comfortable and elegant Subsistence here, but are
 “ taught to *hope for, and aspire to a better Life here-*
 “ *after.* But what it is that displeases me in noct-
 “ urnal Rites, the Comic Poets will shew you^e.
 “ Which Liberty of Celebration, had it been per-
 “ mitted at *Rome*, what Wickedness would not He

^e The common Reading, in which all the MSS agree, is,
Quid mihi displiceat, INNOCENTES poetæ indicant Comici. *Vic-*
torius conjectured, instead of *innocentes*, *Tully* wrote *IN NOC-*
TURNIS, which is certainly right. By the *poetæ comici*, I am
 persuaded, *Cicero* meant the Writers of the *new Comedy*. The
 Abuses he hints at, as perpetrated in the Mysteries, were of a
 libidinous kind; which occasioned an Intrigue proper for the
new Comedy. And we may see by *Fabricius's Notitia Comico-*
rum deperditorum, Bibl. Græc. l. ii. c. 22. how frequently the
 Writers of the *new Comedy* laid the Scene of their Plots in a
 religious Festival or Mystery.

“ have

“ have attempted ^f, who came with a premeditated
 “ Purpose of executing his Lust, to a Sacrifice where
 “ even the Misbehaviour of the Eye was highly
 “ criminal ^g?

^f I suppose by the *Ille*, here, is meant *P. Clodius*, the mortal Enemy of *Cicero*, of whom he thus speaks, in his *Orat. de Har. Resp.* § 5. “ De Religionibus sacris & ceremoniis est concionatus, patres conscripti, *Clodius*: *P.* inquam, *Clodius* sacra & religiones negligi, violari, pollui questus est: non mirum si hoc vobis ridiculum videtur: etiam sua concio risit hominem, quomodo ipse gloriari solet, ducentis confixum senatus-consultis: quæ sunt omnia contra illum pro religionibus facta, hominemque eum, *qui pulvinaribus BONÆ DEÆ stuprum INTULERIT, eaque sacra, quæ viri Oculis NE IMPRUDENTIS QUIDEM ADSPICI FAS EST, non solum adspectu virili, sed flagitio stuproque violarit*, in concione de religionibus neglectis conqueri.” So that *Tully*’s Reasoning seems to stand thus — *I allow an Exception for the Eleusinian Mysteries, on account of their great Use to Civil Life. But yet their Celebration in the Night is attended with strange Inconveniencies, as appears from the Comic Poets. And had this Liberty of celebrating nocturnal Rites by Men and Women promiscuously, as in the Eleusinian Mysteries, been practised in Rome; what Enormities must we believe such a one as Clodius would have committed, who contrived to violate the nocturnal Rites of the Good Goddess, to which only Women were admitted?*

^g *M.* At verò, quod sequitur, quomodo aut tu assentire, aut ego reprehendam, sanè quæro, *Tite.* *A.* Quid tandem id est? *M.* De nocturnis sacrificiis mulierum. *A.* Ego vero assentior, excepto præsertim in ipsa lege solemnî sacrificio ac publico. *M.* Quid ergo aget *Iaccus Eumolpidæque nostri*, & augusta illa *Mysteria*, siquidem sacra nocturna tollimus? non enim populo *Romano*, sed omnibus bonis firmisque populis leges damus. *A.* Excipis, credo, illa, quibus ipsi initiati sumus. *M.* Ego vero excipiam. Nam mihi cùm multa eximia divinaque videntur *Athenæ* tuæ peperisse, atque in vita hominum attulisse, tum nihil melius illis *Mysteriis*, quibus ex agresti immanique vita exculi ad humanitatem, & mitigati sumus: initiaque ut appellantur, ita revera principia vitæ cognovimus; neque solùm cum lætitiâ vivendi rationem accepimus, sed etiam cum spe meliore moriendi. Quid autem mihi displiceat, IN NOCTURNIS Poëtæ indicant *Comici*. Quâ licentiâ *Romæ* datâ, quidnam egisset ille, qui in sacrificium cogitatum libidinem intulit, quò ne imprudentiam quidem oculorum adjici fas fuit? *De Leg. l. ii. c. 14.*

We have seen, that the other Exception to this Law, against nocturnal Sacrifices, was in favour of the Rites performed to the *Good Goddess*, called *the public and solemn Sacrifice*. This was offered *pro Populo*, for the Safety of the People. So that *Cicero*, ranking the *Eleusinian* with those Rites, appears to have thought these in the Number of such as were celebrated for the public Safety. *Solon*, the famous *Athenian* Lawgiver, long before him, had the same high Opinion of these Mysteries, as is seen by the Care he took of their Regulation; as had *Prætextatus*, a most accomplished *Roman* Magistrate, long after him: For when his Master, *Valentinian*, had divided the Empire with his Brother, and projected a general Reform of the Laws, and, amongst the rest, had prohibited *nocturnal Sacrifices*; he was persuaded by *Prætextatus*, who governed for him in *Greece*, to make an exception for the Mysteries of *Ceres*; which had been brought to *Rome* very early^h, and incorporated into the national Worshipⁱ, and regulated anew by the wise Emperor *Hadrian*^k.

Zosimus tells the Story in this manner: “The
“supreme Power being thus divided, *Valentinian*
“entered on his new Command with a more serious
“Attention to his Office. He reformed the Ma-
“gistracy, he regulated the Revenue, and, by a
“rigid Exaction of the Duties, secured the Pay of
“the Soldiery, which arose out of that Fund:
“And having determined likewise to new model

^h As appears by *Tully's* Oration for *Corn. Balbus*, and by a Passage in his Second Book, c. 24. *Of the Nature of the Gods*, quoted above; and likewise from *Dionys. Hal.* l. i. c. 33. *Antiq.* Ἰδρύσαντο δὲ καὶ Δήμητρον ἱερὸν, καὶ τὰς θυσίας αὐτῇ ἀπὸ γυναικῶν τε καὶ νεφελίης ἔθυσαν, ὡς Ἑλλήνων νόμος, ὧν εἶδέν οἱ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἔλλαξε χρόνον.

ⁱ *Suetonius Vita Aug.* c. 93.

^k *Aurel. Victor. in Hadr.*

“ and promulge the Imperial Institutes, *beginning*,
 “ as they say, from the Foundation, he forbid the
 “ Celebration of all nocturnal Rites and Sacrifices;
 “ with design to obviate those Enormities, that the
 “ Opportunity of such Occasions give birth to. But
 “ when *Prætextatus*, a Man adorned with every
 “ Virtue of public and private Life, who then
 “ governed *Greece* in quality of Proconsul, had
 “ given him to understand that this Law would oc-
 “ casion great Disorders in *Greece*, and even throw
 “ the Inhabitants into Despair, when they should
 “ find that they were forbid to celebrate, according
 “ to ancient Custom, those most holy Mysteries,
 “ which had now taken in the whole Race of Man-
 “ kind, he gave Permission to a Suspension of his
 “ Law with regard to these; on condition, how-
 “ ever, that every thing should be reduced to the
 “ primitive Purity and Simplicity¹.” Thus the
Eleusinian Mysteries got a Reprieve ’till the Reign
 of *Theodosius* the Elder, when they were totally
 abolished. The Expression *Prætextatus* used to
 shew the ill Consequence of the Prohibition, is very
 remarkable: He said, the *Greeks* would from thence
 lead ABIΩTON BION, a *comfortless lifeless Life*.
 Now this could not with any Truth, or Propriety,
 be said of the taking away a mere religious Rite,

¹ Τῆς τοίνυν ἀρχῆς ἔτω Διαιρεθείσης ὁ Οὐαλεντινιανὸς ἐμβριθέ-
 ρον τῇ ἀρχῇ προσελθὼν, ἀρχοντίας τε ἐν κόσμῳ προῆλθον, καὶ οὖν τὰς
 εἰσπραγξίαις καὶ εἰσφορῶν, καὶ τὰς ἐν τέττων χορηγικὰς στρατιωτικὰς
 σιλήσεις, ἀπεδέξατο ἦν· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ νόμων εἰσφορὰς ἐνώκει ποιή-
 σααδ, ἀφ’ ἐστίας ὡς ἀρχαίον, τὰς νυκτερινὰς ἐκάλυψε θυσίας
 ἐπιτελεῖαδ, τοῖς μυσαρῶν μὲν ἐν πραγματικαῖς ἐμποδῶν Διὰ δὲ τοῖσδε
 νόμοις ἡμέαδ βελόμην· ἐπεὶ δὲ Περιεξτάτῳ, ὁ δὲ Ἐκλάδῳ καὶ ἀν-
 θύπατον ἔχων ἀρχὴν, ἀνὴρ ἐν πάσαις Διὰπρέπων ταῖς ἀρεταῖς, τῶτον
 ἔφη καὶ νόμον ABIΩTON τοῖς Ἑλλησι κατέστησεν καὶ BION, εἰ
 μέλλοιεν κωλύεαδ τὰ συνεχοντα τὸ ἀνθρώπειον γένος ἀγιώτατα μυ-
 στήρια καὶ δεσμὸν ἐκτελεῖν ἐπέτρεψεν, ἀργῶν δὲ νόμοις· πρῶτιστα
 δὲ πάντας καὶ τὰ ἐξ ἀρχῆς πάντα. Lib. 4. Hist. Noua.

how venerable soever it was become by its Antiquity. To understand the Force of the Expression, we must have in Mind what has been said of the Doctrines taught in those Rites, namely, of a *Providence*, and a *future State of Rewards and Punishments*, on whose sole Account the Rites were instituted. Now these Doctrines being in themselves of the most agreeably engaging Nature, taught here in the most interesting manner, and receiving from hence their chief Support, it was no Wonder that the *Greeks* should esteem the Abolition of the *Mysteries* as the greatest Evil; the Life of Man being, indeed, without the Comfort and Support of these Doctrines, no better than a *living Death*: And on this Account it was, that the sage *Isocrates* called the *Mysteries* *the Thing Human Nature principally stands in need of*^m. Indeed the *Greeks* seemed to place their chief Happiness in them: So *Euripides* makes *Hercules* sayⁿ: *I was happy when I got a Sight of the Mysteries*: and it was a proverbial Expression, where one thought himself in the highest Degree so, to say, *I seem as if I had been initiated in the higher Mysteries*^o.

1. But now, such is the Fate of all human Things, these *Mysteries*, venerable as they were, in their first Institution, did, it must be owned, in Course of Time, degenerate; and those very Provisions made by the State, to enable the *Mysteries* to compass the End for which they were established, proved the total Defeat of that End. For we can assign no greater Cause of the horrid Abuses and Corruptions of the *Mysteries*, besides Time, which naturally and fatally depraves and viciates all Things, than the *Season* in which they were represented,

^m Οὐ πρῶτον ἡ φύσις ἡμῶν ἐδεήθη. *Panegy.*

ⁿ Τὰ μυστῶν δ' ὄργι' αὐτύχην ἰδών. *Herc. furens*, γ 613.

^o Ἐποπτεύειν μοι δοκῶ.

and the profound Silence in which they were buried. For *Night* gave Opportunity to wicked Men to attempt evil Actions, and *Secrecy*, Encouragement to perpetrate them; and the Inviolableness of that Secrecy, which encouraged Abuses, kept those Abuses so long from the Magistrate, 'till it was too late to reform them. In short, we must own, that these Mysteries, so powerful in their first Institution for the Promotion of Virtue and Knowledge^p, became, in time, horribly corrupt, the Seasons of Lust and Revenge^q. Nor, considering the above Circumstances, are we to wonder at it. A like Corruption, from a like Cause crept into the Church, even in the purest Age of our holy Religion itself. The primitive Christians, in Imitation, I suppose, of these Pagan Rites, had a Custom of celebrating Vigils in the Night; which, at first were performed with the utmost Sanctity: but, in a little time, became so abused, that it was necessary to abolish them. The Account *Bellarmino* gives of them, is this: *Quoniam occasione nocturnarum vigiliarum abusus quidam irrepere cœperant, vel potius flagitia non raro committi, placuit ecclesiæ nocturnos conventus & vigiliis proprie dictas intermittere, ac solum in iisdem diebus celebrare jejunia^r*. And the same Remedy, *Cicero* tells us, *Diagondas* the *Theban* was forced to apply to the Disorders of the Mysteries^s.

P — Τα μυστήρια — ὅτι ἐπὶ παιδείᾳ καὶ ἐπανορθώσει τῆ βίᾳ κατεστάθη πάντα ταῦτα ὑπὸ τῶ παλαιῶν.

q Ἡ γὰρ τεκνοφόνος ΤΕΛΕΤΑΣ, ἢ ΚΡΥΦΙΑ ΜΥΣΤΗΡΙΑ, ἢ ἱμμανεῖς ἐξ ἄλλων θεσμῶν κόμης ἀγόντες, οὔτε βίης ἔτε γάμους καθαροῦ ἔτι φυλάσσειν, ἔτερος δ' ἔτερον ἢ ΛΟΧΩΝ ΑΝΑΙΡΕΙ, ἢ ΝΟΘΕΥΩΝ ΟΔΥΝΑ. WISDOM OF SOL. xiv. 23, 24.

r *De Eccl. Triumph.* l. iii. c. ult.

s — Atque omnia nocturna, ne nos duriores fortè videamur, in media Græcia Diagondas Thebanus lege perpetua sustulit. *De Legibus*, l. ii. c. 15.

2. However this was not the sole, tho' the most considerable Cause of the Depravation of the Mysteries. Another doubtless was their being sometimes under the Patronage of those Deities, who were supposed to inspire and preside over irregular Passions; such as *Bacchus*, *Venus*, and *Cupid*; who all had their *Mysteries*: for where was the Wonder, if the *Initiated* should be sometimes inclined to give a loose to those Debaucheries, with which the Patron God was supposed to be delighted? And in this Case, the hidden Doctrine came too late to stop the Disorder. But this however is remarkable, and confirms what we have said concerning the Origin of the Mysteries, and their being invented to perpetuate the Doctrine of a future State of Rewards and Punishments, that this Doctrine continued to be taught even in the most corrupt Celebrations of the Mysteries of *Cupid*^t and *Bacchus*^v. Nay, even that very flagitious Part of the mysterious Rites, when at the worst, the carrying the ΚΤΕΙΣ and ΦΑΛΛΟΣ in Procession, was introduced but under the Pretence of their being *Emblems*^w of that Mystical Regeneration and new Life, into which the *Initiated* had engaged themselves to enter.

^t Ἀγαθὸν μὲν, ὃ ἐταῖρε, τὸ ἐν Ἐλευσίνι τελείῃς μελαχθεῖν, ἐγὼ δὲ ὅτε ἔτις ΕΡΩΤΟΣ ὀργιασταῖς καὶ μύσαις ἐν αἵδε βελτίονα μοῖραν ἔσαν. *Plutarchus* Ἐρωτικῶς.

^v Κέλσος — οἵεταί γε ἐπὶ θάρσει τὸ ἰδιωτῶς ταῦθ' ἡμᾶς ποιεῖν, ὅχι δὲ τὰ ληθῆ περὶ κολλάσεων λέγοντας ἀναγκαίων τοῖς ἡμερησίοις· διόπερ ἕξομοιοι ἡμᾶς τοῖς ἐν ταῖς ΒΑΚΧΙΚΑΙΣ τελείαις τὰ φάσματά καὶ δαίματά προεισάγουσι. *Orig. contra Celsum*, l. iv. p. 167. Sp.

^w Καὶ γὰρ αἱ τελείαι, καὶ τὰ ὄρλια, τὰ τῶν εἶχεν ΑΙΝΙΓΜΑΤΑ. τὸ κλένα μὲν ἡ Ἐλευσίς, ἡ φαλαγωγία δὲ τὸ φαλλόν. *Theodoret. Therap.* l. i. Here the Father uses the Word αἰνίσματα in Derision of the Pagans, who pretended that the Processions of these Things were Mystical, Symbolical, and Enigmatical; otherwise he had used the Word improperly; for the κτεῖς and φαλλός could never be the αἰνίσματα of the Pollutions committed by them: αἰνίσμα signifying the obscure Intimation of a Thing represented by a

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3. The last Cause I shall assign of the Corruption of the Mysteries was the *Hierophant's* withdrawing himself from the Care and Inspection of the Civil Magistrate; whose original Institution they were: and therefore in the purer Times of *Greece*, the Deputies of the States presided in their Celebrations; and so long they were safe from notorious Abuses. But in After-times it would happen that a *little Priest*, who had born an inferior Share in these Rites, would leave his Society and Country, and set up for himself; and thus in a clandestine manner, without Allowance or Knowledge of the Magistrate, institute and celebrate the Mysteries in a private Cabal; And from Rites so managed it was no Wonder if the most flagitious Enormities took their Birth. This was the Original of all those horrid Impieties committed in the Mysteries of *Bacchus* at *Rome*; of which the Historian *Livy* has given so circumstantial an Account: For, in the beginning of his Story, he tells us it happened by one of these Priest's bringing the Mysteries into *Etruria*, on his own Head; uncommissioned by his Superiors in *Greece*, from whom he learnt them; and unauthorized by the State, into which he had introduced them. The Words of *Livy* shew that the Mysteries were, in their own Nature, a very different Thing; and invented for the Improvement of Knowledge and Virtue. * *A Greek of mean Ex-*

different Image. — So *Tertullian* against the *Valentinians* says, “Virile membrum totum esse MYSTERIUM.” *Jamblicus* gives another Reason for these Things: Ἀλλὰ τὸτο ἐν τε κωμαδία καὶ τραγωδία ἀλλότρια πάθη θεωρεῖν, ἴσαμεν τὰ οἰκεία πάθη, καὶ μετρώτερον ἀπερρίζομεθα, καὶ ἀπικαθαίρομεν· ἐν τε τοῖς ἱεροῖς, θεάμασι τισὶ καὶ ἀκρόμασι τῶν αἰχρῶν, ἀπολυόμεθα· εἰς τὸ ἐξελθὼν ἀπὸ αὐτῶν συμπληρώσης βλάβος. *De Mysteriis*, § 1. c. 11.

* *Græcus ignobilis in Etruriam primum venit, NULLA CUM ARTE EARUM, QUAS MULTAS AD ANIMORUM CORPORUMQUE CULTUM NOBIS ERUDITISSIMA OMNIUM GENS IN- VEXIT*, sed *Sacrificulus & Vates*. *Hist. Lib. 39.*

traction,

traction, a little Priest and Soothsayer, came first into Etruria, WITHOUT ANY SKILL OR WISDOM IN MYSTERIOUS RITES, MANY SORTS OF WHICH THAT MOST IMPROVED PEOPLE HAVE BROUGHT IN AMONGST US, FOR THE CULTURE AND PERFECTION BOTH OF MIND AND BODY. It is farther observable, that this Priest brought the Mysteries pure with him out of Greece, and that they received their Corruption in Italy: For, as Hispala tells the Story to the Consul, at first, Women only celebrated the Rites; 'till Paculla Minia Campana became Priestess; who, on a sudden, as by order of the Gods, made a total Alteration in the Ceremonies, and initiated her Sons; which introduced all the Debaucheries that followed. The Consequence of the Detection of this hidden Scene of Wickedness was the Abolition of the Rites of Bacchus throughout Italy, by a Decree of the Senate: not of the Mysteries in general; they were of

There is something so extraordinary in *Hispala's* Confession, as to make it worth transcribing: that the Reader may in one View see the Kind and Degree of these Corruptions. — Tum *Hispala* originem sacrorum expromit. Primo sacrarium id foeminarum fuisse, nec quemquam virum eo admitti solitum. — *Pacullam* sacerdotem omnia, tamquam Deum monitis, immutasse: nam & viros eam primam suos filios initiasse; & nocturnum sacrum ex diurno, & pro tribus in anno diebus quinos singulis mensibus dies initiorum fecisse: ex quo in promiscuo sacra sint, & permisti viri foeminis, & noctis licentia accesserit; nihil ibi facinoris, nihil flagitii praetermissum; plura virorum inter sese, quam foeminarum esse stupra. Si qui minus patientes dedecoris sint, & pigriores ad facinus, pro victimis immolari: nihil nefas ducere. Hanc summam inter eos religionem esse; viros velut mente capta cum jactatione fanatica corporis vaticinari. — Raptos a Diis homines dici, quos machinae illigatos ex conspectu in abditos specus abripiant; eos esse, qui aut conjurare, aut sociari facinoribus, aut stuprum pati noluerint; multitudinem ingentem, alterum jam prope populum esse: in his nobiles quosdam viros, foeminasque. Biennio proximo institutum esse, ne quis major viginti annis initiaretur; captari aetates & erroris & stupri patientes.

and

too important Use to the State, to be parted with
ob unius delictum.

However it is very true, that in *Greece* itself the Mysteries, of all Kinds, became most notoriously and abominably abused²: the clearest Proof of which is, that their Comic Writers very frequently laid the Scene of their Subject, such as the Rape of a young Girl, and the like, at the Celebration of a religious Mystery; and from that Mystery, denominated the Comedy^a. But notwithstanding all Occasions and Opportunities of Corruption, some of the Mysteries, as particularly the *Eleusinian*, continued, for very many Ages, pure and undefiled. These were, indeed, the last that submitted to the common Fate of all human Institutions.

Here let me recommend to the Consideration of the learned Reader the following Passage of the holy Apostle *Paul*, speaking of the Leaders and Instructors of the Gentile World, — “ So that they
“ are without Excuse: Because that *when they knew*
“ *God they glorified him not as God*, neither were
“ thankful, but became *vain in their Imaginations*,
“ and their foolish Heart was darkened. Professing
“ themselves to be wise they became Fools: And
“ *changed the Glory of the uncorruptible God into an*
“ *Image made like to corruptible Man, and to Birds*
“ *and four-footed Beasts, and creeping Things*. Where-
“ fore God gave them up to *Uncleanness*, through
“ the Lusts of their own Hearts, to dishonour their
“ own Bodies between themselves. Who changed
“ *the Truth of God into a Lie*, and worshipped and
“ *served the Creature more than the Creator* who is
“ blessed for ever, Amen. For this Cause God gave

² See *Clemens Alexandrinus* in his *Admonitio ad Gentes*.

^a See *Fabricius's Notitia Comicarum deperditorum*, in his first Vol. of the *Bibl. Græc.* l. ii. c. 22.

“them up *unto vile Affections, &c.* ^b” In these Words St. Paul appears plainly to condemn the foolish Policy of the Gentile Sages, who, *when they knew God, yet glorified him not as God* by preaching him up to the People; but, carried away in the *Vanity of their Imagination* by a mistaken Principle of Politics, that the vulgar Knowledge of him would be injurious to Society, shut up his *Glory* in their *Mysteries*, and gave the People, in exchange for an *uncorruptible God, an Image made like to corruptible Man and Birds, &c.* Wherefore God, in Punishment for their thus *turning his Truth into a Lie*, suffered their *Mysteries*, which they erected, on these wrong Principles, for a School of Virtue, to degenerate into the most odious Sink of Immorality and Uncleannefs; *giving them up unto all Uncleannefs and vile Affections.* That this was the Apostle’s Meaning appears not only from the general Tenour of the Passage, but from several particular Expressions, as where he speaks of *changing the Glory of God to Birds, Beasts and creeping Things.* For this was the peculiar Superstition of *Egypt*: And *Egypt* we have shewn to be the first Inventress of the *Mysteries*. Again, he says *they worshipped and served the Creature more than the Creator*: This was true with regard to their Worship in the *Mysteries*. The Creator was there adored, but by a small and select Number only of the Participants; while the rest were confined to the Practice of the most odious Polytheism. But this was not true in the *open* Worship of Paganism, either *public* or *particular*: For there the *Creature* was the *sole* Object of Adoration.

It is true, if uncertain Report was to be credited, the *Mysteries* were corrupted very early: For Or-

^b Rom. i. 20, & seq.

Orpheus himself is said to have abused them^c. But this was an Art the debauched *Myſtæ* of later Times employed to countenance their Enormities; as the detestable Pæderasts of After-ages scandalized the godlike *Socrates*. Besides, the Fable was so ill laid, that it was detected by the sure Monuments of Antiquity: For, in consequence of what they pretended was perpetrated by *Orpheus* in the Myſteries, they reported that he was torn to pieces by the Women: whereas it appeared from the Inscription on his Monument at *Dium* in *Macedonia*, that he was struck dead with Lightning; the Death of the reputed Favourites of Heaven^d.

And here the Fathers will hardly escape the Censure of those who refuse to allow high Provocation for an Excuse of an unfair Representation of an Adversary, for accustoming themselves to speak of the Myſteries as gross Impieties and Immoralities, in their original Institution^e. *Clemens Alexandrinus*, in a Heat of Zeal, thus breaks out: *Let him be accursed who first infected the World with these Impostures, whether it was Dardanus — or — &c. These I make no scruple to call wicked Authors of im-*

^c See *Diog. Laert. Proœmium, Segm. 5.*

^d *Idem ibid.*

^e What hath been said above shews Mr. *Le Clerc* hath gone into the other Extreme, when he contends [*Bibl. Univ. tom. 6. p. 73.*] that the Myſteries were not corrupted at all. I can conceive no Reason of his espousing this Paradox, but as it favoured an Accusation against the Fathers, who have much insisted on the Corruption of them — *Les Peres ont dit qu'on committoit toute sorte d'ordures dans ces cérémonies: mais quoi qu'ils disent, il n'est pas croiable que toute la Grece, quelque corrompue qu'elle ait été, ait jamais consenti que les filles & les femmes se prostituassent dans les myſteres — Mais quelques auteurs Chrétiens n'ont fait aucune difficulté de dire mille choses peu conformes à la verité, pour diffamer le Paganisme: de peur qu'il n'y eût que les Payens à qui on pût reprocher leurs calomnies. Bibl. Univ. tom. vi. p. 120.*

pious Fables ; the Fathers of an execrable Superstition, who by this Institution sowed in human Life the Seeds of Vice and Corruption^f. But the wisest and best Men in the Pagan World unanimously confess, that the Mysteries were instituted pure, and proposed the noblest End, by the worthiest Means : Nor could it be otherwise, as we shall see when we come to speak of their Original.

The Truth of the matter was this, the Fathers bore a secret Grudge to the *Mysteries* for their injurious Treatment of *Christianity* on its first Appearance. We have observed above, that Impiety to the Gods, by which they meant Atheism, was reckoned, in the *Mysteries*, amongst the greatest Crimes ; and most severely punished in their Shews and Representations. So in *Virgil*, of which more hereafter, the first and hottest Seats in *Tartarus* are allotted to the Atheist, such as *Salmoneus*, *Tityus*, the *Titans*, &c. Now the *Christians*, were at first esteemed Atheists by the People, and so branded by the *Mystagogue*, as we find in *Lucian*^g ; and exposed amongst the rest in *Tartarus*, in their solemn Representations : This I gather from a remarkable Passage in *Origen* ; where *Celsus* thus addresses his Adversary : *But now, as you, good Man, believe eternal Punishments, even so do the Interpreters of these holy Mysteries, the Mystagogues and Initiators : You threaten others with them ; THESE, on the contrary, THREATEN YOU*^h. This explains a Passage

^f "Οἱ οἱ ἐν ὁ τῆσδε ἀρχαῖς ἀπάτης ἀνθρώποις· εἴτε ὁ Δάρδανος—εἴτε—τῶν ἐγὼ γ' αὖν ἀρχικακῶς φήσαιμι μύθων ἀθέων, καὶ δαιμονίας ὀλεθρίας παλέρων, πῶμα κακίας καὶ φθορᾶς ἐγκαταφυλάσσαντας τῷ βίῳ τὰ μυστήρια. *Admonitio ad Gentes.*

^g Καὶ ἐν μὲν τῇ πρώτῃ, [τῇ τελείῃς ἡμέραις] πρὸς ῥήσεις ἦν, ὡς περ Ἀθήνησι, ἱερῶν· εἴ τις ἀθεῖ, ἢ ΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΟΣ, ἢ Ἐπικέρει, ἢ κει καλᾶσκοπῶ τῷ ὀργίων, φύγεται — *Pseudomantis.*

^h Μάλιστα μὲν, ὃ βέλτε, ὡς περ σὺ κολάσεις αἰώνιες νομίζεις· ἔγω καὶ οἱ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐκείνων ἐξηγηταὶ τελεσάμε τε καὶ μυσταγωγοί· ὥς σὺ μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπειλᾷς, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ σοί. l. viii.

in *Jerom's* Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers; and will be explained by it. The Father speaking of *Quadratus*, says: “Cumque Hadrianus Athenis
 “exegisset hiemem invifens Eleufinem, & omnibus
 “penè Græciæ facris initiatus, dediffet occasionem
 “iis, qui Christianos oderunt, abfque præcepto
 “Imperatoris vexare credentes, porrexit ei librum
 “pro religione noſtra.” Now what *Occaſion* was here afforded to the Enemies of *Chriſtianity*, but only this, that in the *Grecian* Myſteries the *Chriſtians* being odiously represented, the Mind of the Emperor, who but juſt then had been initiated into almoſt all of them, might be reaſonably imagined eſtranged and indispoſed towards them; and ſo the eaſier drawn to countenance, or connive at any Violence offered to them?

This then, without doubt, was what ſharpened the Fathers againſt the Myſteries; and they were not always tender in loading what they did not like. But here comes in the ſurprizing Part of the Story; that, after this, they ſhould ſo ſtudiouſly and affectedly transfer the Terms, Phraſes, Formularies, Rites, Ceremonies, and Diſcipline of theſe *odious Myſteries* into our holy Religion; and, thereby, very early viciate and deprave, what a Pagan Writerⁱ could ſee and acknowledge, was ABSOLUTA & SIMPLEX, as it came out of the Hands of its divine Author. Sure then it was ſome more than ordinary Veneration the People had for theſe Myſteries, that could incline the Fathers of the Church to ſo fatal a Counſel: however the Fact is notorious^k, and the Effects are but too viſible.

ⁱ *Amm. Marcellinus*, l. xxi. c. 16. Hiſt.

^k The Reader will not be diſpleaſed to find here an exact Account of this whole Matter, extracted from a very curious Diſſertation of a great and unexceptionable Writer; *Iſ. Caſaubon's* 16. *Exerc.* againſt the *Annals* of *Baronius*. — Pii patres quum

We have all along supposed the Mysteries an Invention of the Legislator, as having nothing to do with them but in this View. Now tho', from what hath been said, the intelligent Reader will understand we have not supposed amiss, yet as the Pertinency of the whole Discourse depends upon this Truth, it will not be amiss to give the Proof of it in Form.

intelligerent, quo facilius ad veritatis amorem corruptas superstitione mentes traducerent; & verba sacrorum illorum quam plurima, in suos usus transtulerunt; & cum doctrinæ veræ capita aliquot sic tractarunt, tum ritus etiam nonnullos ejusmodi instituerunt; ut videantur cum Paulo dicere gentibus voluisse, *αὐτοὶ ἡμεῖς οὐσεβούμεν, ταῦτα καὶ λαλῶμεν ὑμῖν*. Hinc igitur est, quod sacramenta Patres appellarunt *Mysteria*, *μυστήρια*, *τελεῖα*, *τελειώσεις*, *ἐποπτείας*, sive *ἐποψείας*, *τελετήρια*; interdum etiam *ἔργια*, sed rarius: peculiariter verò Eucharistiam *τελετὴν τελείαν*. Dicitur etiam antonomastice τὸ μυστήριον; aut numero multitudinis τὰ μυστήρια. Apud Patres passim de sacra communione leges *φεικλῶς μυστήρια* vel τὸ ἀπὸ ἑξῆς μυστήριον; Gregorio Magno, *magnum & reverendum mysterium*. Μυστήριον in veterum monumentis sæpe leges pro Cœnæ Dominicæ fieri particeps; μύησιν pro ipsa actione; μύστης est sacerdos, qui etiam dicitur ὁ μυσταγωγὸν & ὁ ἱεροτελεστής. In Liturgiis Græcis & alibi etiam ἡ ἱερὰ τελείη, & ἡ κρυφία καὶ ἐπίφοβος τελείη, est Eucharistia. Quemadmodum autem gradus quidem in Mysteriis Paganicis servati sunt, sic Dionysius universam τὴν τελείαν τὴν ἱεροεργίαν traditionem sacramentorum distinguit in tres actiones, quæ & ritibus & temporibus erant divisæ: Prima est κάθαρσις, purgatio; altera μύησις, initiatio; tertia, τελείωσις, consummatio; quam & ἐποψίαν sæpe nominat. Spem meliorem morientibus attulisse Mysteria Attica dicebat paulo antè M. Tullius. Patres contra, certam salutem & vitam æternam Christi Mysteria dignè percipientibus afferre, confirmabant: qui illa contemnerent servari non posse: Finem verò & fructum ultimum Sacramentorum *θέωσιν deificationem* dicere non dubitarunt; quum scirent vanarum superstitionum auctores, suis *epoptis* eum honorem audere spondere. Passim igitur legas apud Patres, τὴν ἱερὰν μυσταγωγίαν τέλην ἢ θέωσιν, finem sacramentorum esse, ut qui vera fide illa perciperent, in futura vita dii evadant. Athanasius verbo *θεοποιεῖα* in eam rem est usus; quod mox ab eodem explicatur, *participatione Spiritus conjungimur Deitati*. De symbolis Sacramentorum, per quæ divinæ illæ ceremoniæ celebrantur, nihil at-

That

That the Mysteries were invented, established, and supported by the Legislature, may be seen,

1. From the Place of their Original ; which was *Egypt*. This *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, and *Plutarch*, from the most ancient Testimony, expressly affirm : and in this all Antiquity agree ; the *Eleusinian* Mysteries particularly, retaining the very *Egyptian* Gods, in whose Honour they were there celebrated ; *Ceres* and *Triptolemus* being only two other

tinet hoc loco dicere : illud vero, quod est & appellatur fidei symbolum, diversi est generis, & fidelibus tesserae usum præstat, per quam se mutuo agnoscunt, qui pietati sacramento dixerunt : cujusmodi tesseras fuisse etiam in Paganorum Mysteriis ostendimus. Formulæ illi in Mysteriis peragendis usurpatæ, *Procul este, Profani!* respondet in Liturgia hæc per Diaconos pronuntiari solita : ὅσοι καὶ ἡχώμενοι προσέλθετε ; vel, ἔξω διαπαλεῖτε ὅσοι ἐνεργήμενοι, ὅσοι αὐμύνηται ; *Omnes Catechumeni, foras discedite, omnes possesi, omnes non initiati.* Noctu ritus multi in Mysteriis peragebantur ; noctu etiam initiatio Christianorum inchoabatur ; Gaudentio nominatur *splendidissima nox vigiliarum*. Quod autem dicebamus de silentio in sacris opertaneis fervari a paganis solito, id institutum veteres Christiani sic probarunt, ut religiosa ejus observatione mystas omnes longè superarint. Quemadmodum igitur dicit Seneca, sanctiora sacrorum solis initiatis fuisse nota, & Jamblicus de Philosophia Pythagoreorum in τὰ ἀπὸ ῥήνητα, quæ efferri non poterant, & τὰ ἐκ ποταμοῦ, quæ foras efferre jus erat ; ita universam doctrinam Christianam veteres distinguebant in τὰ ἐκ ποταμοῦ, id est, ea quæ enuntiari apud omnes poterant, & τὰ ἀπὸ ῥήνητα arcana temere non vulganda : τὰ δόγματα, inquit Basilus, σιωπᾷ. τὰ δὲ κηρύγματα δημῶσι δέονται, *Dogmata silentio premuntur ; præconia publicantur.* Chrysostomus de iis qui baptizantur pro mortuis ; *Cupio quidem perspicuè rem dicere ; sed propter non initiatos non audeo : hi interpretationem reddunt nobis difficiliorem ; dum nos cogunt, aut perspicuè non dicere, aut arcana, quæ taceri debent, apud ipsos efferre.* Atque ut ἰσορροπεῖν τὰ μυστήρια dixerunt Pagani, de iis qui arcana mysteriorum evulgabant ; ita dixit Dionysius, *Vide ne enunties, aut parum reverentè habeas sancta sanctorum.* Passim apud Augustinum leges, *Sacramentum quod norunt fideles.* In Johannem tract. 11. autem sic : *Omnes Catechumeni jam credunt in nomine Christi, SED JESUS NON SE CREDIT EIS.* Mox, *Interrogemus Catechumenum, Manducas carnem filii hominis ? nescit quid dicimus.* Iterum, *Nesciunt Catechumeni quid accipiant Christiani ; erubescant ergo quia nesciunt.*

Names for *Isis*¹ and *Osiris*; as we have seen above from *Theodoret*: and so *Tibullus*,—

“ Primus aratra manu sollerti fecit OSIRIS,

“ Et teneram ferro sollicitavit humum^m.

But the Similitude between the Rites practised, and the Doctrines taught in the *Grecian* and *Egyptian* Mysteries, would be alone sufficient to point up to their Original: such as the Secrecy required of the Initiated; which, as we shall see hereafter, peculiarly characterized the *Egyptian* Teaching: The Doctrines of a Metempsychosis, and a future

¹ Ἴσις δὲ ἐστὶ καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν Δημήτρε. *Herodot.* l. ii. c. 59. And again c. 156. Δημήτρε ὅ Ἴσις.

^m Mr. *Le Clerc* owns, that *Plutarch*, *Diodorus*, and *Theodoret* have all said this; yet, the better to support his Scheme in the Interpretation of the History of *Ceres*, he has thought fit to contradict him: But his Reason is very extraordinary — C'etoit la Coûtume des Paiens de dire que des Divinitez étoient les mêmes, lors qu'ils avoient remarqué quelque legere ressemblance entre elles, dans la fausse pensée où ils étoient que les plus grands de leurs Dieux s'étoient fait connoître dans toute la terre: au lieu qu'il n'y en avoit aucun qui ne fut *TOPIQUE*, c'est à dire particulier à un lieu — On en trouvera divers exemples dans le petit traité de la Deesse de Syrie. *Bib. Univ.* tom. vi. p. 121. It is very true that the Gods of the Pagans were local Deities: but to think the Ancients were ignorant of this, when it is from the Nature and Genius of Paganism, as delivered by them, that we come to know it, is a very extraordinary Imagination. Indeed the Moderns, possessed with contrary Ideas, were and are generally unattentive to this Truth; and so have committed many Errors in their Reasonings on the Subject: but that Principle of the *Intercommunity in Worship* in ancient Paganism, delivered by us in another Place, would have the same Effect in spreading the Worship, as if their Gods were universal and not local: Which shews the Ancients not mistaken in the Point in Question. But what is pleasant in this Matter is to find *Lucian*, who was no Modern, referred to as proving the Ancients mistaken in their Notions of their Deities, who only tells us what they thought. — And yet, after all, this was only denied, as we say, to support a Scheme. For this very Mr. *Le Clerc* in another Place could see that *Astarté* was certainly *Isis*, as *Adonis* was *Osiris*. And this merely from the Identity of Ceremonies in the Feast of either Pair.

State of Rewards and Punishments, taught therein; which the *Greek* Writers agree to have been first set abroad by the *Egyptians*ⁿ: Abstinence from domestic Fowl, Fish and Beans^o, the peculiar Superstition of the *Egyptians*: The Ritual of the Mysteries being in *Hieroglyphics*, as we learn from *Apuleius*^p, which was the Writing of the *Egyptians*. But it would be endless to reckon up all the Particulars in which the *Egyptian* and *Grecian* Mysteries agreed: It shall suffice to say, in a Word, that they were in all Things the same^q.

But not only a Sameness of the circumstantial Rites *practised*, but also a Sameness of the essential Doctrines *taught* in both, evidently shew that the Mysteries first came from *Egypt*. We have proved at large that one of those essential Doctrines was the Detection of the Error of Polytheism. Now we have the clearest Evidence of Antiquity (prior to those Times in which the *Egyptians* borrowed from the *Greeks*) that this made part of the Secret in the *Egyptian Mysteries*. This appears not only from the Fragment of *Sanchroniatko* referred to above, but from the illustrious Testimony of *A-*

ⁿ *Timæus* the *Locrian*, in his Book of the *Soul of the World*, speaking of the Necessity of inculcating the Doctrine of future Punishments, calls them TIMOPIAI ZENAI, FOREIGN TORMENTS: By which Name both *Latin* and *Greek* Writers always mean *Egyptian*, where the Subject is Religion.

^o See *Porphyrus de Abstin.*

^p Senex comisissimus ducit me protinus ad ipsas fores Ædis amplissimæ, rituque solenni asperfusionis celebrato Mysterio, ac matutino peracto Sacrificio de Opertis Adyti profert quosdam libros, literis ignorabilibus prænotatos; partim FIGURIS CUJUSCEMODI ANIMALIUM, CONCEPTI SERMONIS COMPENDIOSA VERBA SUGGERENTES, partim nodosis, & in modum rotæ tortuosis, capreolatimque condensis apicibus. *Metamorph.* lib. xi.

^q Περὶ ὧν τῶτοις αἱ τελεῖαι καὶ τὰ μυστήρια ταύτης τὸ θεῶν [Διὸς καὶ Ἑρμῆος] τότε κατεδείχθησαν ἐν Ἐλευσίῃ, τὰ τε περὶ τὰς θυσίας καὶ τὰς ὁρχαιοτήτας ὡσαύτως ἔχειν Ἀθηναῖος καὶ τὸς Αἰγυπτίους. *Diod. Sic.* l. i.

Alexander the Great, who informed his Mother, by Letter, that the chief *Hierophant* of the *Egyptian Mysteries* had told him, in Confidence, that in those Mysteries it was taught that all the national Gods were only dead Men deified. *St. Austin*, who as well as *Cyprian*, has recorded this curious Circumstance, delivers it in these Words: — “Of the
 “ same Nature too are those Things which *Alexan-*
 “ *der* of *Macedon* wrote to his Mother, as revealed
 “ to him by one *Leo*, chief *Hierophant* of the *E-*
 “ *gyptian Mysteries*; whereby it appeared that not
 “ only such as *Picus*, and *Faunus*, and *Æneas*, and
 “ *Romulus*, or even *Hercules*, and *Æsculapius*, and
 “ *Bacchus* the Son of *Semele*, and *Castor* and *Pollux*,
 “ and what others there were of the same Rank,
 “ were, of mortal Men, become Gods; But even
 “ those Deities of the higher Class, the *Dii majo-*
 “ *rum gentium*; those whom *Cicero*, without nam-
 “ ing, seems to carp at in his *Tusculans*, such as
 “ *Jupiter*, *Juno*, *Saturn*, *Neptune*, *Vulcan*, *Vesta*,
 “ and many others, whom *Varro* endeavours to al-
 “ legorize into the Elements or parts of the World,
 “ were, in Truth, only mortal Men. But the
 “ Priest being under great Fears and Apprehensions
 “ while he revealed this, as conscious that he was
 “ divulging the Secret of the Mysteries, begg’d of
 “ *Alexander*, when he found that he intended to
 “ communicate it to his Mother, that he would
 “ command her immediately to burn the letter^r.”

^r In eo genere sunt etiam illa quæ *Alexander Macedo* scribit ad matrem, sibi a magno antistite sacrorum *Ægyptiorum* quodam Leone patefacta: ubi non *Picus*, & *Faunus*, & *Æneas*, & *Romulus*, vel etiam *Hercules*, & *Æsculapius*, & *Liber Semele* natus, & *Tyndaridæ* fratres, & si quos alios ex mortalibus pro diis habent; sed ipsi etiam majorum gentium dii, quos *Cicero* in *Tusculanis* tacitis nominibus videtur adtingere, *Jupiter*, *Juno*, *Saturnus*, *Neptunus*, *Vulcanus*, *Vesta*, & alii plurimi, quos *Varro* conatur ad mundi partes sive elementa transferre, homi-

To understand this latter Part we are to know that *Cyprian* tells us that it was the Dread of *Alexander's* Power which extorted this Secret from the *Hierophant*^s.

But farther; nothing but the Supposition of this common Original to all the *Grecian* Mysteries can clear up and reconcile the Squabbles that arose amongst the *Grecian* States and Cities, concerning the Original of the Mysteries; every one claiming to be Original to the rest. Thus *Thrace* pretended that they came first from thence; *Crete* contested it with those Barbarians; and *Athens* claimed the Honour from both. And at that Time, when they had forgot the true Original, it was impossible to settle and accommodate their Differences: for each could prove that he did not borrow from those who contested with him; and at the same Time, seeing a Similitude in the Rites, concluded that they must have borrowed from it. But the owning *Egypt* for their common Original clears up all Difficulties; by accounting for that common Likeness, that gave Birth to every one's Pretensions.

Now in *Egypt* all religious Worship being formed and propagated by Statesmen, and directed to Political Ends; we must conclude, that the *Mysteries* were originally invented by *Legislators*.

2. The Sages who brought them out of *Egypt*, and propagated them in *Asia*, in *Greece*, and *Britain*, were all Kings or Lawgivers; such as *Zoroaster*, *Inachus*, *Orpheus*, *Melampus*, *Trophonius*, *Minos*, *Cinyras*, *Eretheus*, and the Druids.

nes fuisse produntur. Timens enim & ille quasi revelata mysteria, petens admonet Alexandrum, ut cum ea matri conscripta insinua-verit, flammis jubeat concremari. *De Civit. Dei*, l. viii. c. 5.

^s — metu suæ potestatis proditum sibi de diis hominibus a sacer-dote SECRETUM. *De Idol. Vanitate*, Ed. Amst. 1700. Fol.

3. The *State* presided in the *Mysteries*: So in the *Eleusinian* she was represented by a President, intitled ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ, in Memory, doubtless, of the first Founder: to whom were joined four Officers, *chosen* by the People, called ΕΠΙΜΕΛΗΤΑΙ or Curators^t; the Priests were only Under Officers to these, and had no Share in the Direction: For this being the Legislator's favourite Institution, he took all possible Care for its Support; which could not be done more effectually, than by his presiding over it himself. But on the other Hand, his interfering too openly in religious Matters would have defeated his End; for then the People would soon have come to regard the Doctrines of the *Mysteries* rather as Utilities than Truths; on which Account, he carefully kept behind the Curtain. For though it be now so apparent that the *Mysteries* were the Invention of the *State*; yet it is a Truth that was, generally, lost, even to the Learned of Antiquity: which therefore occasioned a miserable Embroilment in all they ventured to say on this Subject. The Reader may see by the second Chapter of *Meursius's Eleusinia*, how much the Ancients were at a loss for the true Founder of those *Mysteries*; some giving the Honour to *Ceres*; some to *Triptolemus*; others to *Eumolpus*; others to *Musæus*; and some again to *Ereätheus*. How then shall we disengage ourselves from this Labyrinth, into which *Meursius* has led us, and wherein the Ancients keep us inclosed? The Clue here given will conduct us safely. We say, that *Ereätheus*, King of *Athens*, instituted the *Mysteries*^v; but that the People unluckily confounded the Institutor with the Priests, *Eumolpus* and *Musæus*, who first officiated in the Rites; and, with *Ceres* and *Triptole-*

^t See *Meursii Eleusinia*, c. 15.

^v And so says *Diodorus Siculus*, l. i. Bibl.

mus, the Deities, in whose Honour they were celebrated. And these Mistakes were natural enough; for the Poets would be apt, in their licentious figurative Style, to call the Gods, in whose Name the Mysteries were performed, the *Founders* of those Mysteries; and the People, seeing only the Ministry of the officiating Priests (the Legislator keeping out of Sight) in good Earnest believed *them* to be the Founders. And yet, if it were reasonable to expect, from Poets, or People, Attention to their own Opinions and Imaginations, one would think they might have distinguished rightly, in this Matter, by the Help of that Mark, which *Eretheus* left behind him, to ascertain his Title; namely, the Erection of that Officer mentioned above, called *Βασιλεύς* or *King*.

4. Again, this Original is farther seen from the Qualities required in the Aspirants to the Mysteries: For, according to their original Institution, neither Slaves nor Foreigners were to be admitted into them^w. Now if the Mysteries were instituted, primarily, for the Sake of teaching Religious Truths, no good Reason can be given why every Man with the requisite moral Qualifications should not be admitted: But supposing them instituted by the State for political Ends, there may; for Slaves and Foreigners have, there, no Concern, nor Property, nor Country. When afterwards the *Greeks*, by frequent Confederations against the *Persians*, the

^w — ἦλθε [Ἡρακλῆς] πρὸς Εὐμόλπον εἰς Ἑλδυσίνα, βαλόμενος μνηστῆρας· ἦν δὲ σὺν ἐξόν ΖΕΝΟΙΣ τότε μνηστῆς — *Schol. Hom. Il. O.* It was the same in the *Cabiric* Mysteries, as we learn from *Diodorus Siculus* l. 5. who speaks of the like Innovation made there. — δοκεῖ δὲ ἅτε πρῶτον ΖΕΝΟΙΣ μνηστῆρας. As to Slaves, hear *Aristophanes* in his *Θεσμοφοριαί*.

— σὺ δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκποδῶν
ΔΟΥΛΟΙΣ γὰρ σὺν ἐξέειπ' ἀκύνειν τὸ λόγων.

common Enemy of their Liberties, began to consider themselves as one People and Community, the Mysteries were extended to all who spoke the *Greek* Language: Yet the Ancients, not reflecting on the Original and End of their Institution, were much puzzled for the Reasons of this Confinement. *Lucian* tells us, in the Life of his Friend *Demonax*, that that great Philosopher had the Courage, one Day, to ask the *Athenians* why they excluded Barbarians from their Mysteries, when *Eumolpus*, a barbarous *Thracian*, had instituted them^x: But he does not tell us their Answer. One of the greatest of the modern Critics was as much at a loss; and therefore thinks the Restraint ridiculous, as implying, that the Institutors thought, the speaking the *Greek* Tongue contributed to the Advancement of Piety^y.

5. Another Proof of this Original may be deduced from what was taught, promiscuously, to all the Initiated: Which was *the necessity of a virtuous and holy Life, to obtain a happy Immortality*. Now this, we know, could not come from the Sacerdotal Warehouse: The Priests could afford Elysium better cheap, at the easy Expence of Oblations, Rites, and Sacrifices: For, as our great Philosopher, with equal Truth and Eloquence, observes, “the Priests made it not their Business to teach
“the People Virtue: If they were diligent in their

^x Ἐτόλμησε δὲ ποιεῖν καὶ Ἀθηναῖος ἐρωτῆσαι δημοσίᾳ, τὴν πορρῆσεως αἰτίας, διὰ τίνα αἰτίαν ἀπκλείουσι τὰς βαρβάρους· καὶ ταῦτα, ὅτι τελεῖν αὐτοῖς καλῶς ἡσαρμόν Εὐμόλπου, βαρβάρου καὶ Θρακὸς ὄντος.

^y Auctor est Libanius in Corinthiorum actione, Mystagogos summa diligentia initiandos ante omnia monuisse, ut manus puras animumque sibi servarent purum: καὶ τὴν φωνὴν Ἑλλήνας εἶναι; & ut in voce sive sermone Græcos se præstarent: hoc quidem profecto ridiculum, quasi faceret ad veram pietatem, Græca potius quam alia lingua loqui. *Is. Casauboni Exercit. xvi., ad Annales Eccl. Baron.*

“ Observations and Ceremonies, punctual in their
 “ Feasts and Solemnities, and the Tricks of Reli-
 “ gion, the holy Tribe assured them that the
 “ Gods were pleased, and they looked no farther :
 “ Few went to the Schools of Philosophers to be
 “ instructed in their Duty, and to know what was
 “ good and evil in their Actions : The Priests
 “ sold the better Pennyworths, and therefore had
 “ all the Custom: for Lustrations and Sacrifices
 “ were much easier than a clean Conscience and a
 “ steady Course of Virtue ; and an expiatory Sa-
 “ crifice, that attoned for the Want of it, much
 “ more convenient than a strict and holy Life^z.”

Now we may be assured, that an Institution, which taught the Necessity of a strict and holy Life, must be the Invention of Lawgivers, to whose Schemes Virtue was so necessary.

6. Another strong Presumption of this Original, is the infinite use of the *Mysteries* to the State : so amply confessed by the wisest Writers of Antiquity, and so clearly seen from the Nature of the Thing itself.

7. But lastly, we have the express Testimony of the knowing *Plutarch* for this Original, who, in his Treatise of *Isis* and *Osiris*, expressly tells us that it was a most ancient Opinion delivered down from LEGISLATORS and Divines to Poets and Philosophers, the Author of it entirely unknown, but the Belief of it indelibly established, not only in Tradition and the Talk of the Vulgar, but in the MYSTERIES and in the sacred Offices of Religion, both amongst Greeks and Barbarians, spread all over the Face of the Globe, that the Universe was not upheld fortui-

^z *Locke's Reasonableness of Christianity*. But he was not aware of this extraordinary Institution for the Support of Virtue.

tously, without Mind, Reason, or a Governor to preside over its Revolutions^a.

It is now submitted to the Reader, whether the Mysteries are not fairly proved to have been invented by the Legislator, to affirm and establish the general Doctrine of a Providence, by inculcating the Belief of a future State of Rewards and Punishments. And if we may believe a certain Ancient, who appears to have been well versed in these Mysteries, they gained their End, by clearing up all Doubts concerning the righteous Government of the Gods^b.

The Subject having necessarily engaged us in a large historical Account of the *Mysteries*; yet the Form of our Discourse not having hitherto given us an Opportunity to take notice of their *Shews and Representations*, the only Thing yet unspoken to, and one of the most important Parts of the *Mysteries*; *Virgil*, in affording us a fresh Proof of the Sentiments of the best and wisest amongst the Ancients concerning the Service of the Doctrine of a future State to Society, presents us with a fit Occasion to inlarge upon them. So that nothing will now be wanting to a thorough Knowledge of this most extraordinary and important Institution.

We hope then to make it evident, that the famous sixth Book of the *Æneis* was designed by the Author for an exact Description of his Hero's Initiation into the *Mysteries*; and of one Part of the

^a Διὸ καὶ παμπάλαιον αὕτη, κάτεισιν ἐν θεολόγων καὶ ΝΟΜΟΘΕΤΩΝ εἰς τε ποιητὰς καὶ φιλοσόφους δόξα, ἣ δρχὴν ἀδέσποτον ἔχουσα, ἣ ὃ πῶς ἰχυρὰν καὶ δυσεξάλειπτον, οὐκ ἐν λόγοις μόνον, ὅδε ἐν φήμασι, ἀλλὰ ἐν τε ΤΕΛΕΤΑΙΣ, ἐν τε θυσίαις, καὶ βαρβάροις καὶ Ἑλλήσι πολλαχῶς περιφερμένην, ὡς ἔτ' ἄνυσιν καὶ ἄλγος καὶ ἀκυνέτητον αἰωρεῖται πρὸς αὐτομάτω τὸ πᾶν. —

^b Ὁ ὃ τοῖς μυστικοῖς ἐκκαλεῖται ὡς ἀγέλασιν ὑπομείνας, καὶ πρὸς τὰς τελείας αὐτὰς εὐσεβὴς καθὼς δεισιδαίμων ἡρόδοτος, ὡς ἔδεν ἔτι ἣ ὡς τὰς θεὰς ἔχει θεσηκεῖαν ἀμφίβουλον. *Sopater in Divis. Quest.*

SPECTACLES of the ELEUSINIAN: where every Thing was done in Shew and Machinery; and where a Representation ^c of the History of *Ceres* afforded Opportunity of bringing in the Scenes of Heaven, Hell, Elysium, Purgatory, and all that related to the future State of Men and Heroes.

But to make this Paradox the less forbidding, it will be proper to enquire into the Nature of the *Æneis*.

Homer's two Poems had each a plain and simple Story, to convey as simple a Moral: And in this kind he is justly esteemed excellent. The *Roman* Poet could make no Improvements here: The other was complete and perfect; so that the Patrons of *Virgil*, and even *Scaliger* himself, are confined to seek for his superior Advantages in his Episodes, Descriptions, Similies, and in the Chastity and Correctness of his Thoughts and Diction; while all have overlooked the principal Advantage he had over his great Exemplar. He found the Epic Poem in Possession of the first Rank of human Compositions; but this did not satisfy his large Ambition: He was not content that its Subject should be to instruct the World in Morals, much less in Physics, which was the idle Imagination of some Ancients, though he was fond of those Enquiries, but aspired to make it a *System of Politics*. Accordingly, the *Æneis* is indeed as much so in Verse, by *Example*, as the Republics of *Plato* and *Tully* were in Prose, by *Precept*. Thus he added a new Province to Epic Poesy. But though every one

^c — ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Πλάτωνος τὸ Κόρην ἤσπασε· καὶ ἡ Δήμητρα ἀλωμένη καὶ τὰς ἐρήμους τὸ τέκνον ἐζητεῖ· καὶ τῷτον τὸ μῦθον εἰς ὕψος ἤγαγε τὸ ἐν Ἐλευσίνι πῦρ. *Just. Mart. Orat. ad. Græc. Prop. init.* Διὸς δὲ καὶ Κόρη, δρᾶμα ἡδὴ ἐγγυέσθην μουσικόν· καὶ τὴν πλάνην, καὶ τὰ ἀεργὰ γέν, καὶ τὸ πένθος αὐταῖν Ἐλευσίς δαδεδχεῖ. *Clemens Alex. in Protreptico, p. 9.*

saw that *Augustus* was shadowed in the Person of *Aeneas*, yet supposing those political Instructions, which he designed for the Service of Mankind, were for the sole Use of his Master, they missed of the true Nature of his Poem. And in this Ignorance, the succeeding Epic Writers, following a Poem whose Genius they did not understand, wrote worse than if they had only taken *Homer*, and his simple Plan, for their Guides. A great modern Poet, and best Judge of their Merit, assures us of this Fact; and what we have said helps to explain it: *The other Epic Poets*, says this admirable Writer, *have used the same Practice* (that of *Virgil*, of running two Fables into one) *but generally carried it so far as to superinduce a Multiplicity of Fables, destroy the Unity of Action, and lose their Readers in an unreasonable Length of Time*^d.

Such was the Revolution *Virgil* brought about in this noblest Region of Poetry; an Improvement so great, that the sublimest Genius had need of all the Assistance the best Poet could lend him, nothing less than the joint Aid of the *Iliad* and *Odysses* being able to furnish out the Execution of his great Idea: for a *System of Politics* delivered in the Example of a great Prince, must shew him in every public Circumstance of Life. Hence *Aeneas* was, of necessity, to be found voyaging with *Ulysses*, and fighting with *Achilles*.

But if the improved Nature of his Subject compelled him to violate that Simplicity in the Fable, which *Aristotle*, and his Interpreter *Bossu*, find so divine in *Homer*^e; he gained considerable Advantages by it in other Circumstances of the Compo-

^d Preface to the *Iliad* of *Homer*.

^e Nous ne trouverons point, dans la Fable de l'Eneide, cette simplicité qu'Aristote a trouvée si divine dans Homère. *Traité du Poeme Épique*, l. i. c. 11.

fiction: For now, those Ornaments and Decorations, for whose Insertion the Critics could give no other Reasons than raising the Dignity of the Poem, become necessarily inherent in the Subject. Thus the Choice of Princes and Heroes for his Actors, which were, before, only used to grace the Scene, now constitute the Essence of the Poem^f: And the Machinery and Intervention of the Gods, on every Occasion, which were to create the *marvellous*, become, in this Improvement, an indispensable Part of the Action. It is in the very Spirit of ancient Legislation, where we see the Principal Care of the Lawgiver was to possess the People with the full Belief of a Providence. And this is the true Reason of so much Machinery in the *Æneis*; for which, modern Critics accuse the Author's Judgment, who in a Poem wrote in the refined and enlightened Age of Rome^g, followed the Marvellous of *Homer* so closely. An excellent Writer, speaking of *the Marvellous* in *Virgil*, says, *If there be any Instance in the Æneid liable to Exception upon this Account, it is in the Beginning of the third Book, where Æneas is represented as tearing up the Myrtle that dropped Blood. This Circumstance seems to have the Marvellous without the Probable, because it is represented as proceeding from natural Causes without the Inter-*

^f — Le retour (says *Bossu*) d'un homme en sa maison, & la querelle de deux autres, n'ayant rien de grand en soi, deviennent des actions illustres & importantes, lorsque dans le choix des noms, le Poete dit que c'est Ulysse qui retourne en Ithaque, & que c'est Achille & Agamemnon qui querellent. — He goes on, — Mais il y a des Actions qui d'elles mêmes sont très importantes, comme l'establisement, ou la ruine d'un etat, ou d'une Religion. Telle est donc l'action de l'Eneide, l. ii. c. 19. He saw here a remarkable Difference in the Subjects: it is strange this should not have led him to see that the *Æneis* is of a different Species.

^g Ce qui est beau dans Homère pourroit avoir été mal reçu dans les ouvrages d'un Poète du tems d'Auguste. *Idem ib.* l. iii. c. 8. de l'admirable.

position of any God, or rather, supernatural Power capable of producing it^h. But when this amiable Writer made this Remark, he appears not to have recollected what *Æneas* says on the Occasion:

“ Nymphas venerabar agrestes,
 “ Gradivumque patrem, Geticis qui præsidet arvis,
 “ Rite secundarent visus, omenque levarent.

Now these kind of Omens, for they were of two Sortsⁱ, were always supposed to be produced by the Intervention of a supernatural Power; as the raining of Blood so frequently related by the Roman Annalists. And the Poet was certainly within the Bounds of the *Probable*, while he told no more

^h Mr. Addison's Works, Vol. iii. p. 316. Quarto Ed. 1721.

ⁱ *Ulysses* in *Homer* mentions both these Sorts in the following Lines,

Ζεῦ πάτερ, εἴ μ' ———
 Φήμην τίς μοι φάστω ἐγείρομαι ἀνθρώπων
 Ἐνδοθεν, ἔκτοθεν ᾧ Διὸς τέρας ἄλλο φανήτω.

But to be more particular: The Word *Omen* in its proper Sense signifies *futuræ rei signum, quod ex sermone loquentis capitur*. Tully says, l. i. *Divin.* *Pythagorei non solum voces deorum observarunt, sed etiam hominum, quæ vocant Omina*. This sort of Omen was supposed to depend much upon the Will of the Person concerned in it. Hence the Phrases *accepit omen, arripuit omen*. This, as we say, was its primary and proper Signification. It was afterwards applied to *Things*, as well as *Words*. So *Paterculus* speaking of the Head of *Sulpicius* on the Rostrum, says it was *velut omen imminentis proscriptionis*. And *Suetonius* of *Augustus*: *Auspicia quædam & omina pro certissimis observabat. Si mane sibi calceus perperam, ac sinister pro dextero induceretur, ut dirum*: It was used still in a larger Sense to signify an *Augury*, as by Tully *de Div.* l. i.

“ Sic aquilæ clarum firmavit Jupiter Omen.

And lastly, in the most generical Sense of all, for a *Prodigy* in general, as in the Place before us. From hence it appears, as we said above, that *Omens* were of two Sorts, the *proper* and *improper*; the proper Sort was supposed to be natural; the improper Sort supernatural: But the Omen in question is of the latter kind.

than

than what the gravest Historians recorded in every Chapter of their Annals. But this was not done to make us stare. He is here, as we observe, in his legislative Capacity, and writes to possess the People of the Interposition of the Gods, in Omens, and Prodigies; which was the Method of the old Lawgivers. So *Plutarch*, as quoted above, tells us that *with Divinations and OMENS, Lycurgus sanctified the Lacedemonians, Numa the Romans, Ion the Athenians, and Deucalion all the Greeks in general; and by Hopes and Fears kept up in them the Awe and Reverence of Religion.* The Scene of this Adventure is laid, with the utmost Propriety, on the uncivilized, inhospitable Shores of *Thrace*, to inspire Horror for barbarous Manners, and an Appetite for Civil Policy.

As the not taking the true Scope of the *Æneis*, has occasioned Mistakes, to *Virgil's* Disadvantage, concerning the *Plan and Conduct* of the Poem; so hath it likewise concerning the *Characters*. The Piety of *Æneas*, and his high Veneration for the Gods, so much offends a celebrated *French Writer*^R, that he says, *the Hero was fitter to found a Religion than a Monarchy.* But he did not know, that the Image of a perfect Lawgiver is held out to us in *Æneas*; and had he known that, he had perhaps been ignorant, that it was the Office of such a one to found *Religions* and Colleges of Priests, as well as States and Corporations¹. And *Virgil* tells us this was his,

“Dum conderet Urbem,
“Inferretque Deos Latio ———

* Monsieur De St. Evremont.

¹ ——— Ἐνθα Περικλεὺς,

Ἰαπετιονίδης ἀγαθὸν τέκε Δουκαλίωνα.

Ὁς πρῶτον ΠΟΙΗΣΕ ΠΟΛΕΙΣ καὶ ΕΔΕΙΜΑΤΟ ΝΗΟΥΣ

ΑΘΑΝΑΤΟΙΣ, πρῶτον δὲ καὶ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣΕΝ.

Apol. Rhod. l. iii. v. 1085.

But his Humanity as much offends our Critic as his Piety, and he calls him a mere *St. Swithin*, always raining. The Beauty of this Representation escaped him. It was necessary to shew a perfect Lawgiver as touched with all the Affections of Humanity; and the Example was the more to be enforced, because we experience our vulgar Politicians but too much divested of these common Notices. Nor is the View, in which we place this Poem, less serviceable to the Vindication of his other Characters. The learned Author of the *Enquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer*, will forgive me for differing from him, in thinking that that Uniformity of Manners in the *Æneis*, was the Effect of Design, not, as he would have it, of Custom and Habit: *Virgil*, says he, *had seen much of the Splendor of a Court, the Magnificence of a Palace, and the Grandeur of a Royal Equipage: Accordingly his Representations of that Part of Life, are more august and stately than Homer's. He has a greater Regard to Decency, and those polished Manners, that render Men so much of a Piece, and make them all resemble one another in their Conduct and Behaviour*^m. For this Work being a System of Politics, *the Eternity of a Government, the Form of a Magistrature, and Plan of Dominion being*, as this Writer observes, *familiar with the Roman Poet*, nothing could be more to his Purpose, than this Representation of *polished Manners*: It being the Legislator's Office to tame and break Men to Humanity; and to make them disguise at least, if they cannot be brought to lay aside their Savage Manners.

But this Key to the *Æneis* not only clears up a great many Passages obnoxious to the Critics, but adds an infinite Beauty to a vast Number of Inci-

dents throughout the whole Poem : Of which, take the following Instances.

Aeneas, in the *eighth* Book, goes to the Court of *Evander*, in order to engage him in a Confederacy against the common Enemy. He finds the King and his People busied in the Celebration of an annual Sacrifice. The Purpose of the Voiage is dispatched in a few Lines, and the whole Episode is employed in a matter quite foreign to it, namely the Sacrifice, the Feast, and a long History of *Hercules's* Adventure with *Cacus*. But it is done with the utmost Pertinence and Art, and in order to introduce into this political Poem that famous Institute of *Cicero* in his *Book of Laws* designed to moderate the Excess of labouring Superstition, the *ignotæ ceremoniæ* as he calls them, which at that Time so much abounded in *Rome* — *Divos & eos, qui cælestes semper habitati, colunto, & ollos, QUOS ENDO COELO MERITA VOCAVERINT, HERCULEM, Liberum, Æsculapium, Castorem, Pollucem, Quirinum* — Thus copied by *Virgil* in the Beginning of *Evander's* Speech to *Aeneas*.

- “ Rex Evandrus ait: Non hæc sollemnia nobis,
- “ Has ex more dapes, hanc tanti numinis aram
- “ VANA SUPERSTITIO veterumque ignara deorum
- “ Inposuit. Sævis, hospes Trojane, periclis
- “ Servati facimus, MERITOSQUE novamus honores,

A Lesson of the utmost Importance to the Pagan Lawgiver. This *superstitio ignara veterum deorum* was, as we have shewn, a Matter he took much Care to rectify in the *Mysteries*; not by destroying that Species of Idolatry, the Worship of dead Men, which was indeed his own Invention, but by shewing *why* they paid that Worship, namely for Benefits done by those deified Heroes to the whole Race of Mankind.

The Conclusion of *Evander's* Speech as evidently alludes to that other Institute of *Cicero* in the same *Book of Laws*. *Separatim nemo habessit Deos: neve Novos neve Advenas nisi Publice adscitos Privatim colunto*. Of which he gives the Reason in his Comment, *suosque Deos, aut Novos aut Alienigenas Coli, confusionem habet Religionum, & ignotas ceremonias*. *Virgil's* Words are :

“ Quare agite, O Juvenes! tantarum in munere laudum

“ Cingite fronde comas, & pocula porcite dextris,

“ COMMUNEMQUE VOCATE DEUM & date vina volentes.

In the *ninth* Book we have the fine Episode of *Nisus* and *Euryalus*, which presents many new Graces when considered as a Representation of one of the most famous and singular of the *Grecian* Institutions. *Crete*, that ancient and celebrated School of Civil Policy, had a Custom, which the *Spartans* first, and afterwards all the principal Cities of *Greece* borrowed from them, for every Man of distinguished Valour or Wisdom to have a favourite Youth, for whose Education he was answerable, and whose Manners he had the Care of forming. Hence *Nisus* is said to be

“ — ACERRIMUS ARMIS,

“ Hyrtacides ;

And *Euryalus*,

“ COMES Euryalus, quo PULCHRIOR alter

“ Non fuit Æneadum, Trojana neque induit arma ;

“ Ora PUER prima signans INTONSA JUVENTA.

The Lovers and their Youths always served and fought together ; — so *Virgil* of these :

“ His

“ His amor unus erat, pariterque in bella ruebant,
 “ Tum quoque communi portam statione tenebant.

The Lovers used to make their favourite Youths many Presents. — So *Nisus* tells his Friend :

“ Si TIBI, quæ posco promittunt (nam *mibi* facti
 “ *Fama* fat est) &c.

The States of *Greece* where this Institution prevailed found so many Advantages in it, that they gave it the greatest Encouragement by their Laws, which at the same time provided against the Abuses to which it was indeed too subject. The Youth so educated were found to be the best Bulwark of their Country, and most formidable to the Enemies of public Liberty. On which Account the Tyrants, wherever they prevailed, used all their Arts to suppress an Institution so opposite to private Interest. The Annals of ancient *Greece* afford many Examples of the Bravery of these Bands, who chearfully undertook and projected the most hazardous Adventures: So that *Virgil* did but follow History when he put these two Friends on one of the most daring Actions of the whole War; as old *Aletes* understood it :

“ Dî patrii, quorum semper sub numine Troja est,
 “ Non tamen omnino Teucros delere paratis,
 “ Cum talis animos juvenum, & tam certa tulistis
 “ Pectora.”

Plutarch tells us, in the *Life of Pelopidas*, speaking of the *Thebans*, that “ *Gorgias* first enrolled the sacred Band, consisting of three hundred chosen Men; and that this Corps was said to be composed of *Lovers* and their *Friends*. It is reported, says he, that it continued unconquered till the Battle of *Charonea*; and when, after that

“ Action, *Philip* was surveying the Dead, and
 “ came to the very Spot where these three hundred
 “ fell, who had charged in close Order so fatally
 “ on the *Macedonian* Lances, and observed how
 “ they lay heaped upon one another, he was quite
 “ amazed; and being told that this was the Band
 “ of *Lovers* and their *Friends*, he burst into Tears,
 “ and said, *Accursed be they who can suspect that*
 “ *these Men either did or suffered any thing dishonest.*
 “ But certainly (continues my Author) this Institu-
 “ tion of Lovers did not arise in *Thebes*, as the
 “ Poets imagined from the Passion of *Laius*, but
 “ from the Wisdom of Legislatorsⁿ. ” Such was
 the Friendship our Poet would here represent. He
 makes *Nisus* die in Defence of his Friend; he
 makes him revenge his Death; and then fall with
 him like the Lovers in the sacred Band :

“ moriens animam abstulit hosti.

“ Tum super exanimem sese projecit amicum

“ Confossus, placidaque ibi demum morte quievit.

Permit me only to observe, that this was the *second Species* of the Epic Poem; our own Countryman, *Milton*, having produced the *third*: For just as *Virgil* rivaled *Homer*, so *Milton* emulated both: He found *Homer* possessed of the Province of *Morality*; *Virgil* of *Politics*; and nothing left for him,

“ Τὸν δ' ἱερὸν λόχον, ὡς φασιν, σινειάδαο Γοργίδας, πρῶτον
 ἐξ ἀνδρῶν ἐπιλεκτῶν τετρακοσίων, — ἔνιοι δέ φασιν ἐξ ἐρασῶν καὶ ἐρω-
 μῶν γυνεῶν τὸ σύστημα τῆτο. — λέγει δ' ὁ Δαμειναι μέχει τ' ἐν
 Χαιρωνείᾳ μάχης αἰτήτητον· ὡς δ' ἔμψ' ἡ μάχην ἐφορῶν τὰς νεκρὰς αἰ-
 Φίλιππον, ἔση καὶ τῆτο τὸ χωρίον, ἐν ᾧ σινειύχανε κείαδ' τὰς
 τετρακοσίας εἰανίους ἀπηνιηκότας ταῖς σαλεύσαις ἀπαντας ἐν τοῖς
 γενοῖς ὅπλοις, καὶ μετ' ἀλλήλων ἀναμεινυμένους, θαυμάσαντες, καὶ πυ-
 θόμενον ὡς ὁ τῶν ἐρασῶν καὶ τῶν ἐρωμῶν ἔτ' εἴη λόχος δακρύσαι,
 καὶ εἰπεῖν, Ἀπόλοιτο κακῶς οἱ τέτρες τι ποιεῖν, ἢ πάχειν αἰχρὸν
 ὑπονοῦντες. Ὅλως δ' ἡ πρὸς τὰς ἐρασὰς συνθείας, ἔχ' ὡς περ οἱ
 ποιηταὶ λέγουσι, Θεοαίοις τὸ Λαῖον πάθος ἀρχὴν παρέχεν, ἀλλ' οἱ
 ΝΟΜΟΘΕΤΑΙ. Vol. ii. p. 218, 219. Brian. Ed.

but

but that of *Religion*. This he seized, as aspiring to share with them in the Government of the poetic World: and, by Means of the superior Dignity of his Subject, hath got to the Head of that Triumvirate which took so many Ages in forming. These are the *three Species* of the Epic Poem; for its largest Province is *human Action*, which can be considered but in a *moral*, a *political*, or *religious* View: and these the three great *Creators* of them; for each of these Poems was struck out at a Heat, and came to Perfection from its first Essay. Here then the grand Scene was closed, and all farther Improvements of the Epic at an End.

It being granted then, that the *Æneis* is in the Style of ancient Legislation, it is hard to think so great a Master in his Art would overlook a Doctrine, which, we have shewn, was the Foundation and Support of ancient Politics; namely that of a *future State of Rewards and Punishments*. Accordingly he hath given us a complete System of it, in Imitation of his Models, *Plato* and *Tully*, in their *Vision of Erus*, and *Dream of Scipio*. Again, as the Legislator took Care to support this Doctrine by a very extraordinary Institution, and to commemorate it with all the Pomp of Spectacle; we cannot but confess a Description of those Shews would add a peculiar Grace and Elegance to the Work; and that the Pomp and Solemnity of the Representations would invite him to attempt it, as affording Matter for all the Embellishments of Poetry. Accordingly we say, he hath done this likewise; and, that the Descent of *Æneas* into Hell, is no other than an enigmatical Representation of his INITIATION INTO THE MYSTERIES.

Virgil, in this Poem, was to represent a perfect Lawgiver, in the Person of *Æneas*; but Initiation into the Mysteries was what sanctified his Character

rafter and Function. For it was no Wonder the Legislator should endeavour by his own Example, to ennoble an Institution of his own creating: Accordingly, we find all the ancient Heroes and Legislators were in Fact initiated^o.

There was another Reason for his Initiation, which held particularly with regard to the *Greek* Legislator's participating of the *Egyptian* Mysteries, and that was the important Instructions he there received in Matters of the highest Moment concerning Mankind^p, as we may see in the second Section of the third Book^q.

Now all this the Poet seems clearly to have intimated in the Speech of *Anchises* to his Son:

“ — Lectos Juvenes, fortissima corda,
 “ Defer in Italiam. Gens dura atque aspera cultu
 “ *Debellanda tibi Latio est. Ditis tamen ante*
 “ *Infernas accede domos* —
 “ — *Huc casta Sibylla*
 “ Nigrarum multo pecudum te sanguine ducet,
 “ Tum genus omne tuum, & quæ dentur mœnia,
 “ *disces*^r.

While the Mysteries were confined to *Egypt*, their native Country; and while the *Grecian* Lawgivers went thither for *Initiation*, as a Kind of Designation to their Office; the Ceremony would be

^o Δείξεν Τελπιδάμῳ τε Διάκλει τε Πανζήπτῳ
 Εὐμόλπῃ τε βίῃ, κελεύει δ' ἡγήτορα λαῶν,
 Δρησμοσιῶν ἱερῶν, καὶ ἐπέφραδεν ὀργία παῶσιν.

Homeri Fragm. Hymn. in Cer. apud Paus. Corinth.

^p — γίνεσθαι δὲ φασὶ καὶ Ὀσεβέστερος καὶ δικαιοτέρος καὶ κατὰ πάντα
 βελτίονας ἑαυτῷ τὰς τῶν μυσηρίων κοινωνήσαντας· διὰ καὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων
 ἡρώων τε καὶ ἡμιθέων τὰς ἐπιφανεστάτας πεφιλολιμνήσας μετὰ λαβεῖν τῇ
 τελείῃς καὶ γὰρ Ἰασίωνα καὶ Διοσκόρου, ἔτι δ' Ἡρακλέα καὶ Ὀρφέα
 μυθηθέντας ἐπιτυχεῖν ἐν πάσαις ταῖς σφαλαῖσι, ἀλλὰ τῶν θεῶν τούτων
 ἐπιφανείαν. *Diod. p. 224.*

^q Pag. 312, 313. ^r *Æn. V. v. 729, & seq.*

naturally

naturally spoken of in Terms highly allegorical. The Genius of the *Egyptian* Manners partly contributed to this; much more, the Humour of Travellers; but most of all, the Arts of Lawgivers; who, returning home, to civilize a barbarous People by Laws and Arts, found it useful for themselves, in order to raise their Characters; and necessary for the People in order to establish the fundamental Principle of a future State, to represent that Initiation, in which they saw the State of departed Mortals in Machinery, as an actual Descent into Hell. This Way of Speaking was used by *Orpheus*, *Bacchus*, and others; and continued even after the Mysteries were introduced into *Greece*, as appears by the Fables of *Hercules*, *Castor* and *Polux*, and *Theseus's* Descent into Hell. But the Allegory generally carried something with it that discovered the Truth hid under it. So *Orpheus* is said to get to Hell by the Power of his Harp:

“Threïcia fretus cithara, fidibusque canoris:

Which plainly declares it to be in Quality of Legislator; the Harp being the known Symbol of his Laws, by which he humanized a rude and barbarous People. Again, in the Lives of *Hercules* and *Bacchus*, we have the true History and the Fable founded on it recorded together. For we are told, that they were in Fact initiated into the *Eleusinian* Mysteries; and that it was just before their Descent into Hell, as an Aid and Security in that desperate Attempt^s. Which, in plain Speech, was no more than that they could not safely see the *Shews* till they were initiated. Again, near *Eleusis* there was a Well called *Callichorus*; and, adjoining

— Καὶ τὰς δὲ Ἡρακλῆα τε καὶ Διόνυσον, καλόντας εἰς ἄδαν, πρότερον λόγον ἐνθάδε μυθεῖναι, καὶ τὸ δάρεσθαι τὸ ἐκείσε πορείας ὧσαί τ' Ἐλευσινίας ἐναύσαντο. *Auctor Axiarchi.*

to that, a *Stone*, on which, as the Tradition went, *Ceres* sat down, sad and weary, on her coming to *Eleusis*. Hence the Stone was named *Agelastus*, the *melancholy Stone*^t: On which Account it was unlawful for the Initiated to sit upon that Stone. For *Ceres*, says *Clemens*, wandering about in Search of her Daughter *Proserpine*, when she came to *Eleusis*, grew weary, and sat down melancholy on the Side of a Well. So that, to this very Day, it is unlawful for the Initiated to sit down there, lest they who are now become perfect should seem to imitate her in her desolate Condition^v. Now let us see what they tell us concerning *Theseus's* Descent into Hell. There is also a Stone, says the Scholiast on *Aristophanes*, called by the Athenians, *Agelastus*; on which, they say, *Theseus* sat when he was meditating his Descent into Hell. Hence the Stone had its Name. Or perhaps because *Ceres* sat there weeping when she sought *Proserpine*^w. This Tradition, methinks, plainly intimates that the Descent of *Theseus* was his Entrance into the *Eleusinian Mysteries*; and that this Entrance was a fraudulent unlawful Intrusion; and we shall shew hereafter it indeed was so.

Both *Euripides* and *Aristophanes* seem to confirm our Interpretation of this Descent into Hell. *Euripides*, in his *Hercules furens*, brings the Hero, just come from Hell to succour his Family, and destroy

^t Ἀγέλας ὁ πέτρα. So *Ovid*:

“ Hic primum sedit gelido mœstissima saxo,

“ Illud Cecropidæ nunc quoque triste vocant.”

^v Ἀλωμένη γὰρ ἡ Δηὼ καὶ ζήτησιν τὴν θυγατέρα τὴν κόρη, καὶ τὴν Ἐλευσίνα, ἀπικάνει, καὶ φρέατι ἐπικαθίζει λυπημένη. Τὸτο ὅτις μνημόσις ἀπαγορεύει εἰσέτι νῦν, ἵνα μὴ δοκοῖεν οἱ τελεσφόροι μιμεῖσθαι τὴν ὀδυρμένην. *Clemens Protrep.*

^w Ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ἀγέλας ὁ πέτρα καλεσμένη ὡσαύτως τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ὅπου καθίσαι φασὶ Θησέα μέλλοντα καταβαίνειν εἰς ἅδου ὅθεν καὶ τὸ νομα τῇ πέτρᾳ· ἢ ὅτι ἐκεῖ ἐκάθισεν ἡ Δημήτηρ κλαίονσα, ὅταν ἐζήτηι τὴν κόρη. *Schol. Equit. Aristoph.* l. 782.

the

the Tyrant *Lycus*. *Juno* in Revenge persecutes him with the Furies; and he, in his Transport, kills his Wife and Children, whom he mistakes for Enemies. When he comes to himself, he is comforted by his Friend *Theseus*; who would excuse his Excesses by the criminal Examples of the Gods; A Consideration, which, as I have observed above, greatly encouraged the People in their Irregularities; and was therefore obviated in the Mysteries, by the Detection of the Errors of Polytheism. Now *Euripides* seems plainly enough to have told us what he thought of the fabulous Descents into Hell, by making *Hercules* reply like one just come from the Celebration of the Mysteries, and entrusted with the ἀπορρητὰ. *The Examples, says he which you bring of the Gods, are nothing to the Purpose. I cannot think them guilty of the Crimes imputed to them. I cannot apprehend how one God can be the Sovereign of another God. — A God who is truly so, stands in need of no one. Reject we then these idle Fables, which the Poets teach concerning them.* The Comic Poet, in his *Frogs*, hath shewn us plainly what he understood of the ancient Hero's Descent into Hell, by the Equipage, which he gives to *Bacchus*, when he brings him in enquiring the Way of *Hercules*. It was the Custom, as we are told by the Scholiast on the Place, to have, at the Celebration of the *Eleusinian* Mysteries, what was wanted in those Rites, carried upon Asses. Hence the Proverb, *Asinus portat Mysteria*: Accordingly the Poet introduces *Bacchus*, followed by his buffoon-Servant *Xanthius* bearing a Bundle in like Manner, and riding on an Ass. And lest the Meaning of this should be mistaken, on *Hercules's* telling *Bacchus* that the Inhabitants of *Elysium* were the Initiated, *Xanthius* puts in, and says, *and I am the Ass carrying Mysteries.*

Here

Here then, as was the Case in many other of the ancient Fables, the Pompousness of the Expression betrayed willing Posterity into the *Miraculous*. But why need we wonder at it in the Genius of ancient Times, which delighted to tell the commonest Things in a highly figurative and uncommon manner; when a Writer of so late an Age as *Apuleius*, either in Imitation of Antiquity, or rather according to the received Phraseology of the *Mysteries*, describes his Initiation in this manner: *Accessi confinium mortis; & calcato Proserpinæ limine, per omnia vêtus elementa remeavi: nocte media vidi solem candido coruscantem lumine, Deos inferos & Deos superos. Accessi coram, & adoravi de proximo*^x. *Æneas* could not have described his Night's Journey, after he had been let out of the Ivory Gate, to his Companions in other Terms, had it been indeed a Journey into Hell.

We see then, *Virgil* was obliged to have his *Hero* initiated; and that he had the Authority of fabulous Antiquity to call this Initiation a Descent into Hell. And surely he made use of his Advantages with great Judgment; for this Fiction animates the Relation, which, delivered without an Allegory, had been too cold and flat for Epic Poetry. Besides all this, he had the Advantage of old Tradition, which said several of the *Trojan* Heroes were actually initiated into the *Mysteries*, as *Agamemnon* and *Ulysses*^y.

^x L. II. prope finem.

^y Ἀγαμέμνονα φασὶ μεμνημένον, ἐν ταραχῇ ὄντα πολλῇ καὶ Τροίαν, δι' ἀκχλασασίαν τῶν Ἑλλήνων, παῦσαι τ' εἰσὶν, πορφυρεῖδα ἔχοντα — Ὀδυσσεῖα φασὶ μεμνημένον ἐν Σαμοθράκῃ χρησάσθαι τῶν κρηδέμενων ἀντὶ ταινίας. *Scholia Apollon. Rhod. Arg. l. i. v. 916.*

— Ὀφρα δαέντες

Ἀρξήκλεις ἀγανῆσι τελευφορέησι δειμίτας —

We see, from the Hero's urging the Example of those Heroes and Lawgivers, who, we have shewn, had been initiated before him, that his Request was only for an *Initiation*:

“ Si potuit manis arcessere conjugis *Orpheus*,
 “ Threïcia fretus cithara fidibusque canoris :
 “ Si fratrem *Pollux* alterna morte redemit,
 “ Itque reditque viam toties : quid *Thesea* magnum,
 “ Quid memorem *Alciden*? & mi genus ab *Jove*
 summo.

It is to be observed, that *Theseus* is the only one of these ancient Heroes not recorded in History to have been initiated, though we have shewn so evidently that his Descent into Hell was, like that of the rest, only a Participation of the Mysteries. And the Reason is, because his Entrance was a violent Intrusion.

But an old Poem, under the Name of *Orpheus*, intituled, *a Descent into Hell*, had it been now existing, would, perhaps, have shewn us that no more was meant than *Orpheus's* Initiation; and that the Idea of this sixth Book was taken from thence. Farther, that it was customary for the Poets of this Age to exercise themselves on the Subject of the Mysteries appears from *Cicero*, who desires *Atticus*, then at *Athens*, and initiated, to send *Chilius*, a Poet of Eminence², an Account of the *Eleusinian* Mysteries; in order, as it would seem, to insert into some Poem he was then writing³. Thus it appears that both the ancient and modern Poets afforded him a Pattern for his Undertaking.

² See Lib. I. Ep. 16. *ad Atticum*.

³ *Chilius te rogat & ego ejus rogatu ΕΥΜΟΛΠΙΔΩΝ ΠΑΤΡΙΑ*, Lib. I. Ep. 9. *ad Atticum*. On which *Victorius* observes *πάτρια fere omnes excusi quemadmodum est in antiquis, habent: ut intelligat ritus patrios & institutiones illius sacræ familiæ, & augusta mysteria, ut inquit Cicero 2. de Legibus*.

However this be, *Servius* saw thus far into *Virgil's* Design, as to say, that *many* Things were here delivered in the profound Learning of the Egyptian Theology^b. And we have shewn that the Doctrines taught in the *Mysteries*, were invented by that People. But though I say this was our Poet's general Design, I would not be supposed to think he followed no other Guides. Several of the Episodes are borrowed from *Homer*; and several of the Philosophic Notions from *Plato*: Some of which will be taken notice of in their Place.

We have observed, that the Initiated had a Guide or Conductor, called ἱεροφάντης, μυσαγωγός, ἱερεὺς, indifferently of either Sex, ^c who was to instruct him in the preparatory Ceremonies, and lead him to, and explain the Shews and Spectacles. Accordingly *Virgil* hath given the Sibyl to *Æneas*; and calls her *Vates*, *magna sacerdos*, and *docta Comes*, Words of equivalent Signification: And this, because the Mysteries of *Ceres* were always celebrated in *Rome* by female Priests^d. And as the She-Mystagogue was devoted to a single Life^e, so was the

^b Multa per altam Scientiam Theologicorum Ægyptiorum.

^c Τὰς ἱερείας [Δήμιεργς] Μελίσας ἐνάλην οἱ πορνῆαι. Schol. Eurip. Hippol. Μελίσας κυρίως τὰς τὴν Δήμητρίῳ ἱερείας φησί. Schol. Pind. Pythion.

^d So the Satyrist,

“ Paucae adeo Cereris vittas contingere dignæ.

Juv. Sat. 6.

^e Hierophanta apud *Athenas* eviratur virum, & æterna debilitate fit castus. *Hieron. ad Geron. de Monogamia*. Cæterum viduas *Aphricanæ* Cereri assistere scimus, durissima quidem oblivione matrimonii adlectas. Nam manentibus in æternum viris non modo thoro decedunt, sed & alias eis utique ridentibus loco suo insinuant, adempto omni contactu usque ad osculum filiorum, & tamen durante usu perseverant in tali viduitatis disciplina, quæ pietatis etiam sanctæ solatia excludit. Hæc diabolus præcipit & auditur: & provocat nimirum Dei servos continentia suorum, quasi ex æquo, O continentiam Gehennæ sacerdotem! *Tertul. ad*

Cumæan Sibyl, whom he calls *Casta Sibylla*. Another Reason why a Priestess is given to conduct him is, because *Proserpine* presides in this whole Affair. And the Name of the Priestess in the *Eleusinian* Mysteries shews that she properly belonged to *Proserpine*; though she was also called the Priestess of *Ceres*. The Ancients, says *Porphyrius*, called the Priestesses of *Ceres* Μελισσαι, as being the Ministers or Hierophants of the subterraneous Goddess, and *Proserpine* herself Μελιτώδης^f. And *Æneas* addresses her, just as an Aspirant to the Mysteries would address the Hierophante:

—— “ Potes namque omnia : nec te

“ Nequidquam lucis Hecate præfecit Avernīs.

And she answers much in the Language of those sacred Ministers,

“ Quod si tantus amor, Έc. ——

—— “ et INSANO juvat indulgere labori;

“ Accipe quæ peragenda prius. ——

For *insanus* is the same as ἐνθουσιαστικός, and this, as we are told by *Strabo*, was an inseparable Circumstance of the Mysteries^g.

Uxorem, l. ii. Καὶ τὴν ΙΕΡΟΦΑΝΤΗΝ καὶ τὰς ΙΕΡΟΦΑΝΤΙΔΑΣ, καὶ τὴν δαδῶχον, καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἱερεῖας μυρῶνις ἔχειν σέφανον· δι’ ἃ καὶ τῇ Δήμητρει προοφθαλμὸν ταύτην φησί. Schol. Sophocl. Oedip. Col. v. 674. — It was for this Reason that these female Hierophants were called Μελισσαι, as is well observed by the Schol. on *Pind.* in *Pyth.* the *Bee* being, among the Ancients, the Symbol of Chastity:

“ Quod nec concubitu indulgent, nec corpora segnes

“ In Venerem solvunt. ——

^f Τὰς Δήμητρει ἱερεῖας, ὡς χθονίας θεᾶς μύσιδας, Μελισσας οἱ πάλαιοι ἐκάλεον, αὐτὴν τε τὴν Κόρην Μελιτώδην. De Antro *Nymph.*

^g Τῇ Δήμητρει καὶ Δία τὸ ΟΡΓΙΑΣΤΙΚΟΝ πᾶν, καὶ τὸ Βακχικόν, καὶ τὸ χορευτικόν, καὶ τὸ περὶ τὰς τελείας μυσικόν. l. 10.

The first Instruction the Priestess gives *Æneas*, is to search for the *Golden Bough*, sacred to *Proserpine*,

“ Aureus & foliis & lento vimine ramus,

“ *Junoni infernæ* facer.

Servius can make nothing of this Circumstance. He supposes it might possibly allude to a Tree in the Middle of the sacred Grove of *Diana's* Temple in *Greece*: where, if a Fugitive came for Sanctuary, and could get off a Branch from this Tree, which was carefully guarded by the Priests, he had the Honour to go to *Handy-cuffs* with one of them, and, if he overcame him, to take his Place. Though nothing can be more foreign to the Point in Question than this rambling Account, yet the *Abbe Bannier* is content to take up with it^g, after *Servius*. But the Truth is that under this Branch is shadowed the *Wreath of Myrtle*, which the Initiated were crowned with at the Celebration of the Mysteries^h. 1. Because the *Golden Bough* is said to be sacred to *Proserpine*, and so we see was the *Myrtle*: *Proserpine* only without *Ceres* is mentioned all the Way throughout; partly because the Initiation is described as an actual Descent into Hell; but principally because, when the *Rites* of the Mysteries were performed, then *Ceres* and *Proserpine* were equally invoked; but when the *Shews* were represented, then *Proserpine* alone presided: But this Book is only a Representation of the *Shews* of the Mysteries. 2. The Quality of this *Golden Bough*, with its *lento vimine*, admirably describes the tender *Branches of Myrtle*. 3. The Doves of *Venus* are made to direct *Æneas* to the Tree:

^g *Explicat. Histor. des Fables*, Vol. ii. p. 133. Ed. 1715.

^h Μυστήριος στεφάνος ἐστὶν ὁ μύρτος. *Schol. Aristoph. Ranis.*

“ Tum Maximus Heros

“ *Maternas agnoscit aves.* —

They fly to it, and rest upon it, as on an accustomed Perch, belonging to the Family: A *Place where they loved to be*; for the Myrtle was consecrated to *Venus*, as is known to every one.

“ *Sedibus optatis gemina super arbore sidunt.*

But there is a greater Propriety and Beauty in this Conduct, than appears at first View. For not only the Myrtle was dedicated to *Proserpine* as well as *Venus*, but the Doves likewise, as *Porphyry* informs usⁱ. But it will be asked perhaps, why is this myrtle Branch represented as a *golden* one? Not merely for the Sake of the *Marvellous*, I will assure the Reader. A *golden Bough* was, literally, Part of the sacred Equipage in the Shews of the Mysteries. For it is to be observed that the Branch which was sometimes wreathed into a Crown, and worn on the Head, was at other times carried in the Hand. *Clemens Alexandrinus* tells us^k, from *Dionysius Thrax* the Grammarian, that it was an *Egyptian* Custom to hold a Branch in the Act of Adoration. And of what kind these Branches were *Apuleius* tells us in his Description of a Procession of the Initiated in the Mysteries of *Isis*. “ *Ibat tertius, attollens PAL-*
“ *MAM AURO SUBTILITER FOLIATAM, nec non*
“ *Mercurialem etiam Caduceum*^l.” The *Caduceus*, and the *Golden Branch* then were related. And accordingly *Virgil* makes the *Golden Bough* perform

ⁱ Τῆς ὃ Φερσεφάτης, ὧσα τὸ φέρειν τὴν φάτλαν, φασὶν οἱ πολλοὶ τῶνομα τῶ θεολόγων, ἱερὸν γὰρ αὐτῆς ἢ φάτλα. *Porph. de Abst.* l. iv. § 16.

^k — ὧσα Αἰγυπτίων καὶ τὸ τῶ θαλλῶν τῶ διδομένων τοῖς προσκυνοῦσι. *Strom.* l. v. p. 568.

^l *Metam.* l. xi. p. 383.

the usual Office of the *Caduceus*, in affording a free Passage into the Regions of the Dead. Again, *Apuleius*, describing the fifth Person in the Procession, says: “*Quintus auream Vannum AUREIS*
“*congestam RAMULIS*”^m: So that a *Golden Bough* we see was a very important Implement, and of a complicated Intention in the Shews of the *Mysteries*.

Æneas having got this Bough, or being crowned with Myrtle, a Thing necessary to *Initiation*,

“*Sed non ante datur telluris operta subire,*
“*Auricomos quam quis decerpserit arbore foetus.*
“*Hoc sibi pulchra suum ferri Proserpina munus*
“*Instituit* ———

the Poet tells us he carried it into the Sibyl’s Grot:

“*Et vatis portat sub tecta Sibyllæ.*

And this was to design Initiation into the *lesser Mysteries*: For *Dion Chrysostom* ⁿ tells us, it was performed ἐν οἰκίᾳ μικρῇ, in a little narrow Chapel such a one as we must suppose the Sibyl’s Grot. The *Initiated* into these Rites were called Μύσται.

He is then led by his *Mystagogue*, to the Scene of the Descent:

“*His actis, propere exequitur præcepta Sibyllæ.*
“*Spelunca alta fuit, vastoque immanis hiatu*
“*Scrupea, tuta lacu nigro nemorumque tenebris.*

His Reception is thus described:

“*Sub pedibus mugire solum & juga cœpta moveri*
“*Sylvarum; visæque canes ululare per umbram,*
“*Adventante Dea. Procul ô, procul este, profani,*
“*Conclamat vates, totoque absistite luco.*

^m *Metam.* l. xi. p. 383.

ⁿ *Orat.* 12.

This is an exact Description of the opening of the *Mystic* Shews, as may be seen by the fine Description which *Claudian* professedly and without Disguise makes of the Entrance into these tremendous Rites, where he counterfeits the Raptures and Astonishment of an *Initiated*, and throws himself, as it were, like the Sibyl into the middle of the Scene :

“ Furens antro se immisit aperto.

Breaking out in this enthusiastic Manner,

“ Gressus removete, Profani,

“ Jam furor humanos nostro de pectore sensus

“ Expulit ——

“ Jam mihi cernuntur trepidis delubra moveri

“ Sedibus, & claram dispergere fulmina lucem,

“ Adventum testata Dei. Jam magnus ab imis

“ Auditur fremitus terris, *templumque remugit*

“ *Cecropium; sanctasque faces attollit ELEUSIN;*

“ *Angues Triptolemi stridunt, & squamea curvis*

“ Colla levant attrita jugis —

“ Ecce procul ternas Hecate variata figuras

“ Exoritur °.

How exactly both these Descriptions agree to the Relations of the ancient *Greek* Writers on this Subject may be seen from the general View *Dion Chrysostom* gives us of *Initiation* into the Mysteries: *Just so it is as when one leads a Greek or Barbarian to be initiated in a certain mystic Dome, excelling in Beauty and Magnificence; where he sees many mystic Sights, and hears in the same Manner a Multitude of Voices; where Darkness and Light alternately affect*

° *De Raptu Proserp. sub initio.*

his Senses; and a Thousand other uncommon Things present themselves before him ^P.

The *visæque canes ululare per umbram*, is clearly explained by *Pletho* in his Scholia to the magic Oracles of *Zoroaster*: It is the Custom in the Celebration of the Mysteries, to present before many of the Initiated, Phantasms of a canine Figure, and other monstrous Shapes and Appearances ^q.

The PROCUL Ô PROCUL ESTE PROFANI of the Sibyl, is a literal Translation of the Formulary used by the Mystagogue, at the Opening of the Mysteries:

ΕΚΑΣ, ΕΚΑΣ ΕΣΤΕ ΒΕΒΗΛΟΙ.

The Sibyl then bids *Æneas* arm himself with all his Courage, as being to encounter the most dreadful Appearances:

“ Tuque invade viam, vaginâque eripe ferrum:

“ Nunc animis opus, *Ænea*, nunc pectore firmo.

And we soon find the Hero in a Fright:

“ Corripit hic subitâ trepidus formidine ferrum

“ *Æneas*, strictamque aciem venientibus offert.

With these Affections the Ancients represent the Initiated, on his Entrance into the holy Rites. *Entring now into the mystic Dome*, says *Themistius*, *he is filled with Horror and Amazement. He is seized with Solitude, and a total Perplexity. He is unable to move a Step forward, and knows not how to begin right the*

Γ Σχεδὸν ἐν ὁμοίον, ὥσπερ εἴ τις ἄνδρα Ἑλληνα, ἢ Βάρβαρον μυθεῖσθαι ᾧ δαδιδὲς εἰς μουσικόν τινα οἶκον, ὑπερφυῖ κάλλει καὶ μεγέθει, πολλὰ μὲν ὁρῶντα μουσικὰ θεάματα, πολλῶν δὲ ἀκρόντα θεῶν φωνῶν, σκότους τε καὶ φωτὸς ἐναλλάξ αὐτῷ φαινομένων, ἄλλων τε μυθίων γινωσκίων. *Orat.* 12.

q Εἶωθε θεῖς πολλοῖς τῶν τελευτήων φαίνεσθαι καὶ τὰς τελετὰς κυνώδη τινα, καὶ ἄλλως ἀλλόκοτα τὰς μορφὰς φάσματα.

Road

Road that is to lead him to the Place he aspires to. Till the Prophet (the Vates) or Conductor laying open the Vestibule of the Temple^r. — So Proclus: As in the most holy Mysteries, before the Scene of the mystic Visions, there is a Terror infused over the Minds of the Initiated; so, &c^s. We soon see the Cause of the Hero's affright. He is now engaged amongst all the real and imaginary Evils of Life; all the Diseases of Mind and Body; all the *Terribiles visu formæ*, the Centaurs, Scyllæ, Chimærae, Gorgons, and Harpies: And these are they which *Pletho*, in the Place quoted above, calls ἀλλόκοτα τὰς μορφὰς φάσματα, as seen in the Entrance of the Mysteries; and which *Celsus* tells us were presented likewise in the *Bacchic Rites*^t. These are said to be *Vestibulum ante ipsum*, and *Themistius* tells us that that was the very Place of all the Terrors, τὰ προπύλαια τῆς νεώ.

On the Opening of this Scene, the Poet stops short in his Narration; and breaks out into this solemn Apology:

“ Dii, quibus imperium est animarum, umbræque
“ silentes;

“ Et Chaos & Phlegethon loca nocte silentia late,

“ Sit mihi fas audita loqui: sit numine vestro

“ Pandere res altâ terrâ & caligineertas —

Conscious of his engaging in an impious Attempt, such as revealing the Mysteries was generally esteem-
ed. *Claudian*, who openly professes to treat of the

Ἦ ὁ μὲν ἄρτι προσιὼν τοῖς ἀδύτοις, φείκης τε ἐν ἐπιπλάτῳ καὶ
ἰλίγῃ αἰδημονίᾳ τε εἶχετο καὶ ἀπειρῆ συμπαύσῃ, εἰδὲ ἵχνης λαβέας
οἶός τε ὦν, ἔτε δὲ χῆς ἡσιν σὺν ἐπιδράξας εἰσω φερέσσης· ὁπότε
ἦ ὁ προφήτης ἐκεῖν· ἀναπελάσας τὰ προπύλαια τῆς νεώ. —
Orat. in Patrem.

Ἦ ὡς περ ἐν ταῖς ἀγιωτάταις τελειαῖς πρὸς τὰς μουσικῶν θεαμάτων
ἐκπληξίς τῶν μυθῶν, ἔγω — *In Plat. Theol.* l. iii. c. 18.

Ἦ τοῖς ἐν ταῖς Βακχικαῖς τελειαῖς τὰ φάσματα καὶ δαίμαλα προ-
εράγασιν. *Orig. cont. Cels.* l. iv. p. 167.

Eleusinian Mysteries, at a Time when they were in little Veneration, yet, in Compliance to old Custom, excuses his Undertaking in the very same Manner :

“ Dii, quibus in numerum, &c. —

“ Vos mihi sacrarum penetralia pandite rerum,

“ Et vestri secreta poli, qua lampade Ditem

“ Flexit Amor, quo ducta ferox *Proserpina* raptu

“ Possedit dotale Chaos ; quantasque per oras

“ Sollicito genetrix erraverit anxia cursu ;

“ Unde datæ populis leges, &, glande relicta,

“ Cesserit inventis *Dodonia* quercus aristis ”.

Had the revealing the Mysteries been as penal at *Rome*, as it was in *Greece*, *Virgil* had never ventured on this Part of his Poem. But yet it was esteemed an Impiety^w ; he therefore does it covertly, and makes this Apology to those who saw into his Meaning.

The Hero and his Guide now enter on their Journey :

“ Ibant obscuri sola sub nocte per umbras :

“ Perque domos Ditis vacuas, & inania regna.

“ Quale per incertam lunam sub luce maligna

“ Est iter in sylvis : ubi cœlum condidit umbrâ

“ *Jupiter*, & rebus nox abstulit atra colorem.

This Description would put one in Mind of a Passage in *Lucian's* Dialogue of the *Tyrant*. As a Company made up of every Condition of Life, are voyaging together into the other World, *Mycillus* breaks out, and says : “ Bless us ! how dark it is ?

^v *De Raptu Proserpinæ*, l. i. sub init.

^w — *Athenis* initiatus [*Augustus*] cum postea *Romæ* pro tribunali de privilegio sacerdotum *Atticæ* *Cereris* cognosceret, & quædam secretiora proponerentur, dimisso concilio & corona circumstantium, solus audiit disceptantes. *Sueton.* l. ii. *Octav. Aug.* c. 93.

“ Where

“ Where is the fair *Megillus*? Who can tell now,
 “ in this Place, whether *Simmiche* or *Phryna* be the
 “ handsomer? Every thing is alike and of the same
 “ Colour; and no Room for a Comparifon be-
 “ tween Beauties. My old Cloak, which but now
 “ prefented to your Eyes fo irregular a Figure, is
 “ become as honourable a Wear, as his Majesty’s
 “ Purple. They are, indeed, both vanifhed, and
 “ retired together under the fame Cover. But my
 “ Friend, the Cynic, where are you! give me your
 “ Hand: *You are initiated in the Eleufinian My-*
 “ *fteries. Tell me now, do you not think this very*
 “ *like the blind March they make there?* CY. *Oh*
 “ *extremely: And fee, here comes one of the Furies,*
 “ *as I guefs, by her Equipage, with her Torch, and*
 “ *her terrible Looks* *. —

They come now to the Banks of *Cocytus*: *Aeneas* is furprized at the Croud of Ghosts, that hover round it, and appear impatient for a Paffage. His Guide tells him they are fuch, whose Bodies have not had the Rites of Sepulture; and are therefore doomed to wander up and down for a hundred Years, before they are permitted to crofs it.

“ *Hæc omnis, quam cernis, inops inhumataque*
 “ *turba eft:*

“ *Portitor ille, Charon; hi, quos vehit unda, fepulti.*

“ *Nec ripas datur horrendas, nec rauca fluenta*

* MI. Ἡράκλεις δὲ ζῶσα· πᾶν νῦν ὁ καλὸς Μέγιλλος, ἢ τῷ Διδύμῳ τις ἐν ταῦθα εἰ καλλίων Φρυγῆς Σιμμίχη, πάντα γὰρ ἴσα, καὶ ἐμόχροα, καὶ εἰδὲν ἢ τε καλὸν, ἢ τε καλλίον· ἀλλ’ ἤδη καὶ τὸ τελευτήν, πρότερον τέως ἀμορφον εἶναι δοκεῖν, ἰσότημον γίνεσθαι τῇ πορφυρίδι δὲ βασιλέως· ἀφανῆ γὰρ ἀμφω, καὶ ὑπὸ τῷ αὐτῷ σκότῳ καλυπτόμενα. Κωίσκε, σὺ δὲ πᾶν πότε ἄρα ὦν τυγχάνεις; — ἔμβαλέ μοι τὴν δεξιάν· εἶπέ μοι, ἐτελέσθης γὰρ, ὦ Κωίσκε, τὰ ΕΛΕΥΣΙΝΙΑ, ἔχῃ ΟΜΟΙΑ ἴσῃς ἐκείναι τὰ ἐνθάδ’ ἐσοὶ δοκεῖ; KYN. εὖ λέγεις· ἰδὲ ἐν προσέρχεσθαι δαδὰ χῆσά τις, φοβερόν τι, καὶ ἀπειλητικὸν προσβλεπόμενα· ἢ ἄρα πᾶν Ἑλληνὺς ἐστίν; *Luciani Cataplaus.*

“Transportare prius, quam sedibus ossa quierunt.

“Centum errant annos, volitantque hæc litora circum.”

“Tum demum admissi stagna exoptata revifunt.

But we are not to think this old Notion took its Rise from the superstitious Vulgar. It was one of the wisest Contrivances of ancient Legislation. And that it came from that Forge, we have no Reason to doubt, because it was originally *Ægyptian*. Those profound Masters of Wisdom, in contriving for the common Good, found nothing would more contribute to the Safety of their fellow Citizens than the publick and solemn Interment of the Dead; private Murders, without this Provision, being easily and securely perpetrated. They therefore introduced the Custom of public and pompous Funeral Rites. And, as *Herodotus* and *Diodorus* tell us, were of all People the most circumstantially ceremonious in the Observance of them. To secure which, by the Force of Religion, as well as Custom, they taught that the Deceased could not retire to a Place of Rest in the other World, till these Rites were performed to him in this. And the Notion spread so wide, and fixed its Root so deep, that the Substance of the Superstition remains, even to this Day, in most civilized Countries. By so effectual a Method did the Legislature gain its End, the Security of the Citizen. There is one Circumstance, which, if well considered, will shew us of how great Moment the Ancients understood the Rites of Sepulture to be. The three greatest of the *Greek* Poets are without Question, *Homer*, *Sophocles*, and *Euripides*. Yet, in the Judgment of modern Critics, the Performance of Funeral Rites for *Patroclus*, *Ajax* and *Polynices*, in the *Iliad*, the *Ajax* and the *Phœnicians*, is a vicious Continuation of the Story, violating

violating the Unity of the Action. But these Men did not consider, that the Ancients esteemed Funeral Rites an inseparable Part of the History of a Hero's Death : And that therefore those great Masters of Unity and Design could not think the Action ended, 'till that important Circumstance was settled y.

But the *Egyptian* Lawgiver found afterwards another Use in this Opinion ; and, by artfully turning it to a Punishment on insolvent Debtors, grounded on it an Institution of great Advantage to Society. For, instead of that general Custom of modern Barbarians to bury Insolvents *alive*, this polite and humane People had a Law that denied Burial to them when *dead*. The Terror of which, we are assured, had it's desired Effect. And here the learned *Marsham* seems to be mistaken, when he supposes, that, from this Interdiction of sepulchral Rites, sprung up the *Grecian* Opinion of the Wandering of unburied Ghosts z. For it is plain, from the Nature of the Thing, that the Law was founded on the Opinion, which was *Egyptian* ; and not the Opinion on the Law : Because the Opinion was the *only Sanction* of the Law.

On the whole, had not our Poet adjudged it a Matter of much Importance, he had hardly dwelt so long upon it, or returned again to it^a, or laid

^z Προσέθηναι ὃ ἔτι τῷ νόμῳ πίνδε, τὸν διδόντα πὲρ χρεῖσθαι, καὶ ἀπάσης κραλεῖν τὸ δὲ λαμβάνοντι δέχης· τὸ δὲ ὑπολιθέντι τὸ τοῦ ἐνέχουσιν τήνδε ἐπεῖναι ζημίην, μὴ βελομύθῳ ἀποδῆναι πὲρ χρεῖσθαι, μηδὲ αὐτὰ ἐκείνῳ, τελευτήσαντι ἐν ἱερῇ κυρῆσαι μήτ' ἐν ἐκείνῳ τὸ παλῶν τάφῳ, μήτ' ἐν ἄλλῳ μηδενί, μήτ' ἄλλον μηδένα τὸ ἐωῦτ' ἀποχρύμνον δάψαι. *Herod. l. ii. c. 136.*

^z Ab interdictæ apud *Ægyptios* sepulturæ poenâ, inolevit apud *Græcos* opinio insepultorum corporum animas à Charonte non esse admissas. *Canon Chronicus, Seculum 11. § 3.*

^a y 373, & seq.

so much Stress on it, or made his Hero so attentively consider it :

“ Constatit Anchisa fatus, & vestigia pressit,

“ *MULTA PUTANS.*

But having added — “ *Sortemque animo misertus iniquam ;*” and *Servius* commented, *Iniqua enim sors est puniri propter alterius negligentiam : nec enim quis culpa sua caret sepulchro ;* Mr. Bayle cries out, ^b *What Injustice is this ! Was it the Fault of these Souls that their Bodies were not interred ?* But not knowing the Original of this Opinion, he did not see its Use. And so attributes *that* to the Blindness of Religion, which was the Issue of wise Policy. *Virgil*, by his *sors iniqua*, means no more than that in this, as well as in several other Civil Institutions, a public Good was often a private Injury.

The next observable is the Ferry-man, *Charon* ; and he, the Learned well know, was a substantial *Egyptian* ; and, as an ingenious Writer says, *fairly existing in this World*. The Case was plainly thus : The *Egyptians*, like all other People, in their Descriptions of the World to come, used to copy from something they were well acquainted with in the Present. In their Funeral Rites, which, as we observed, was a Matter of greater Moment with them than any other Nation, they used to carry their Dead over the *Nile*, and through the Marsh of *Acherusia*, and there put them into subterraneous Caverns ; the Ferry-man employed in this Business being, in their Language, called *Charon*. Now in their Descriptions of the other World, in the *Mysteries*,

^b Quelle injustice ! étoit-ce la faute de ces âmes que leurs corps n'eussent pas été enterres. *Respons. aux Quest. d'un Provincial*, p. 3. c. 22.

it was natural for them to borrow from the Circumstances of their Funeral Rites. And that they themselves actually transferred these Realities into the ΜΥΘΟΣ, and not the *Greeks*, as their later Writers generally imagine, might be very easily proved if there were Occasion.

Charon is appeased at the Sight of the *Golden Bough*:

— “ Ille admirans venerabile donum

“ Fatalis Virgæ, LONGO POST TEMPORE visum.’

But it is represented as the Passport of all the ancient Heroes who had descended into Hell; how then could it be said to be *longo post tempore visum*, *Æneas* being so near the Times of those Heroes? To explain this we must have in Mind what hath been said above of a perfect Lawgiver’s being held out in *Æneas*, and of *Augustus*’s being shadowed under the *Trojan* Chief. So that here *Virgil* is thinking of his Master; and the Insinuation is, that the *Roman* Emperor, in a later Age, should rival the Fame of the first *Grecian* Lawgivers.

But *Æneas* hath now crossed the River, and is come into the proper Regions of the Dead. The first Thing that occurs to him is the Dog *Cerberus*:

“ Hæc ingens latratu regna trifauci

“ Personat, adverso recubans immanis in Antro.

This is plainly the Phantom in the Mysteries, which *Pletho* tells us above, was in the Shape of a Dog, κυνώδη τινά. And in the Fable of *Hercules*’s Descent into Hell, which, we have shewn, signified no more than his Initiation into the Mysteries, it is said to have been, amongst other Things, for fetching up the Dog *Cerberus*.

To appease his Rage the Prophetess gives him a medicated Cake, which casts him into a Slumber.

“ Cui

“ Cui vates, horrere videns jam colla colubris,
 “ *Melle soporata* & *medicatis frugibus offam*
 “ Objicit. Ille fame rabida tria guttura pandens
 “ Conripit objectam, atque immania terga resolvit
 “ Fusus humi, totoque ingens extenditur Antro.

The Cake was of *Poppy-Seed* (for so I understand *medicatis frugibus*) made up with *Honey*. Honey, as we have shewn above, was sacred to *Proserpine*, who on that Account was called *Μελιῳδης*; and the *Poppy* to *Ceres*: *Cereale Papaver*, says *Virgil*; on which Words *Servius* thus comments: *Vel quod est esui, sicut frumentum, vel quo Ceres usa est ad oblivionem doloris; nam ob raptum Proserpinæ vigiliis defatigata, gustato eo acta est in Soporem^c*. To the same Purpose *Ovid* in speaking of *Ceres*:

“ Illa soporiferum parvos initura Penates
 “ Colligit agresti lene Papaver humo:
 “ Dum legit, oblito fertur gustasse palato,
 “ Longamque imprudens exsoluisse famem^d.

The Regions, according to *Virgil's* Geography, are divided into three Parts: 1. PURGATORY, 2. TARTARUS, 3. ELYSIUM. For *Deiphobus* in the first says:

“ Discedam, EXPLEBO numerum, reddarque tenebris^e.

And in the second it is said of *Theseus*:

“ Sedet, ÆTERNUMQUE sedebit
 “ Infelix Theseus. —

The Mysteries divided them in the very same manner. So *Plato*, in the Passage^f quoted above,

^c Ad l. 1. *Georg.* v. 212.

^d L. 3. *Fast.*

^e But the Nature and End of this Purgatory the Poet describes at large, from v. 736. to v. 745.

^f See Note (d) p. 163.

where

where he tells what was taught in the *Mysteries*, speaks of Souls sticking fast in Mire and Filth, and remaining in Darkness, till a long Series of Years had *purged and purified* them. And *Celsus* in *Origen*, we have seen^s, says that *eternal* Punishments were taught in the *Mysteries*.

And here it is to our Purpose, that the Virtues and Vices, which the Poet recapitulates, as stocking these three Divisions with Inhabitants, are such as most immediately affect Society. A plain Proof that he followed the Views of the Institutors of the *Mysteries*.

Purgatory, the first Division, is inhabited by *Suicides, extravagant Lovers, and ambitious Warriors*: And, in a word, by all those, who had given a loose to the Exorbitancy of their Passions; which made them rather miserable than wicked. It is remarkable that amongst these we find one of the *Initiated*:

“ Cererique sacrum Polyboeten.

Which was agreeable to the public Teaching in the *Mysteries*, that *Initiation* with Virtue procured Men great Advantages over others, in a future State, but without it was of no Service.

But, of all these Disorders, *Suicide* being most pernicious to Society, the Poet hath more distinctly marked out the Misery of that Condition:

“ Proxima deinde tenent mœsti loca, qui sibi lethum
 “ Infantes peperere manu, lucemque perosi
 “ Projecêre animas. Quam vellent æthere in alto
 “ Nunc & pauperiem & duros perferre labores!

Here he keeps close to the *Mysteries*; which not only forbid *Suicide*, but taught on what Account it was criminal. *That which is said in the MYSTERIES,*

^s See Note (h) p. 176.

says *Plato*, concerning these Matters, of Man's being placed in a certain Watch, or Station, which it is unlawful to fly from, or forsake, is a profound Doctrine, and not easily fathomed^h.

Hitherto all goes well. But what must we say to the Poet's putting Children, and Men falsely condemned, into his Purgatory? For though the modern Roman Faith and Inquisition send these two Sorts of Persons into a Place of Punishment, yet the Genius of ancient Paganism had a far gentler Spirit. It is indeed difficult to tell what these Inmates have to do here. And the Commentators,

^h ὁ μὲν δὲ ἐν ἀπορρητοῖς λεγόμενοι περὶ αὐτῶν λόγῳ, ὡς ἐν τινι φερεῖται ἔσθ' οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ εἰ δὲ δὴ ἑαυτὸν ἐν ταύτης λύειν, εἰδὲ ἀποδιδράσκειν, μεγάς τε τις μοι φαίνεται καὶ εἰ ῥάδιον διιδεῖν. *Phæd.* p. 62. Ser. Ed. tom. i. The very learned Mr. Dacier translates ἐν ἀπορρητοῖς, *dans les Mysteres*; and this agreeably to his Knowledge of Antiquity. For ἀπέρητα was used by the Ancients, to signify not only the grand Secret taught in the Mysteries, but the Mysteries themselves; as appears from innumerable Places in their Writings. Yet the French Translator of *Pufendorf's Law of Nature and Nations*, l. ii. c. 4. § 19. Note (1) accuses him of not understanding his Author: "Mr. Dacier fait dire à Platon que l'on tenoit tous les jours ces discours au peuple dans les Ceremonies & dans les Mysteres. Il seroit à souhaiter qu'il eût allégué quelque autorité pour etablir un fait si remarquable. Mais il s'agit ici manifestement des Instructions secrètes que les Pythagoriciens donnoient à leurs Initiez, & lesquelles ils decouvroient les raisons les plus abstruses, & les plus particuliers des Dogmes de leur Philosophie. Ces instructions cachées s'appelloient ἀπέρητα — Ce que Platon dit un peu auparavant de Philolaüs, Philosophe Pythagorien, ne permit pas de douter que la raison, qu'il rapporte ici comme trop abstruse & difficile à comprendre, ne soit celle que donnoient les Pythagoriciens." He says, *it were to be wished Dacier had some Authority for so remarkable a Fact.* He hath this very Passage; which is Authority enough: For the Word ἀπέρητα signifies the *Mysteries*, and cannot here mean the secret Doctrines of the Philosophers; as will be shewn presently. But those who want farther Authority, may have enough of it, in the Nature and End of the Mysteries, as explained above. — He says, *it is evident, Plato is here talking of the secret Instructions which the*

as

as is their Use, observe a profound Silence. Let us first examine the Case of the *Infants*; which we shall find can be cleared up only in our View of Things; and should therefore be considered as another strong Presumption of its Truth.

“ Continuo *auditæ voces, vagitus & ingens,*
 “ Infantumque animæ flentes in limine primo :
 “ Quos dulcis vitæ exortes, & ab ubere raptos
 “ Abstulit atra dies, & funere merfit acerbo.

These appear to have been the *Cries and Lamentings* that *Proclus* tells us were heard in the Myste-

Pythagoreans gave to their Initiated, in which they discovered their most abstruse and particular Doctrines. This cannot be so, for a very plain Reason. The Philosophy of the *Pythagoreans*, like that of other Sects, was divided into the *Exoterical* and *Esoteric*; the *Open* taught to all, and the *Secret* taught to a select Number. But the *Impiety of Suicide* was a Doctrine in the first Division taught to *all*, as serviceable to Society: *Vetatque Pythagoras injussu imperatoris, id est, Dei, de præsidio & statione vitæ decedere*, says *Tully* in his *Book of old Age*; who in his *Dream of Scipio*, written in the *Exoteric* way, condemns *Suicide* for the very same Reason. But in an *Epistle* to a particular Friend, which certainly was of the *Esoteric* kind, he approves of it: *Ceteri quidem, Pompeius, Lentulus tuus, Scipio, Afranius, fæde perierunt. At Cato præclarè. Jam istuc quidem, cum volemus, licebit*, L. ix. Ep. 18. It could not be therefore, that the *Impiety of Suicide* could be called one of the *ἀπορρήτα* of Philosophy; for, on the contrary, it was one of their popular Doctrines. But this will be fuller seen when we come to speak of the Philosophers in the next Book. He concludes, that as *Plato* had spoke of *Philolaüs* a little before, it cannot be doubted but that he speaks of the Reason against *Suicide*, as a Doctrine of the *Pythagorean Philosophy*. What has been said above, utterly excludes any such Interpretation. But though it did not, his Reason will not infer it. There is nothing in the Context, that shews *Plato* had *Philolaüs* in his Mind here. That this was a Doctrine, though not of the *Esoteric* kind, in the *Pythagoric School*, I readily allow. The *Mysteries*, and that, held a number of things in common: We have seen this in Part already, and when we come to speak of *Pythagoras*, we shall shew how it happened.

ries.

riesⁱ. So that we only want to know the Original of so extraordinary an Opinion. Which I take to have been just such another Institution of the Legislator, for the Preservation of the Offspring, as that about *Funeral Rites* was for the Parents. And nothing sure could more engage Parents to the Care and Preservation of their Young, than so terrible a Doctrine. Nor are we to think, that their instinctive Fondness needed no Inforcement, or Support to the Discharge of this natural Duty: For that most degenerate and horrid Practice among the Ancients, of exposing Infants, was universal; and, had almost erased Morality and Instinct. I apprehend St. *Paul* had this in his Eye when he accused the Pagan World of being *without natural Affection*^k. It needed therefore the strongest and severest Check: And I am well persuaded it was that, which occasioned this Counterplot of the Magistrate, in order to give Instinct fair Play, and call back banished Nature. Nothing indeed could be more worthy of his Care: For the Destruction of Children, as *Pericles* finely observed of Youth, is *like cutting off the Spring from the Year*. Accordingly we are told by *Diodorus*, that the *Egyptians* made a Law against this unnatural Practice which he numbers amongst the Singularities of that People. *They are obliged*, says he, *to bring up all their Children in order to render the Country populous, this being esteemed the best Means of making States flourishing and happy*^l. And *Tacitus* speaks of it as no less amongst the

ⁱ Καὶ τοῖς μυστηρίοις τὰς μυσικὰς ΘΡΗΝΟΥΣ μυσικῶς παρελήφαμεν. In Comment. in Platonis Remp. l. x.

^k I COR. i. 31.

^l Καὶ τὰ γυνώμματα πάντα τρέφουσιν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἕνεκα τῆς πολυανθρωπίας ὡς ταύτης μέγιστα συμβαλλομένης πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν χώρας τε καὶ πόλεως. l. i. Histor.

Jews: “Augendæ multitudini consulitur. Nam
“ & necare quenquam ex gnatis, nefas^m.”

Here Mr. Bayle is again scandalized: “The
“ first Thing that occurred on the Entrance into
“ the other World was the Station assigned to In-
“ fants, who cried and lamented without ceasing;
“ and, next to it, that of Men unjustly condem-
“ ned to Death. Now what could be more shock-
“ ing or scandalous than the Punishment of those
“ little Creatures who had yet committed no Sin,
“ or of those Persons whose Innocence had been
“ oppressed by Calumnyⁿ”? The first Case is
cleared up already; the second shall be considered
presently. But it is no Wonder Mr. Bayle could
not digest this Doctrine of the *Infants*; for I am
very much mistaken if it did not stick with the
great *Plato* himself. Who, relating the *Vision of*
Erus the Pamphylian, concerning the Distribution
of Rewards and Punishments in a future State,
when he comes to the Condition of Infants, passes
it over in this remarkable Manner:—*But of Chil-*
dren who died in their Infancy, he reported certain
other Things NOT WORTHY TO BE RECORDED^o.
Erus's Account of what he saw in another World
was a Summary of what the *Egyptians* taught of that
Matter. And I make no Question but the Thing
not worthy to be recorded was the Doctrine of

^m *Tac. Hist.* l. 5.

ⁿ La premiere chose que l'on rencontroit à l'entrée des Enfers, étoit la station des petits enfans, qui ne cessoient de pleurer, & puis celle des personnes injustement condamnées à la mort. Quoi de plus choquant, de plus scandaleux, que la peine de ces petites creatures, qui n'avoient encore commis nul péche; ou que la peine de ceux, dont l'innocence avoit été opprimée par la calomnie? *Respons. aux Quest. d'un Prov.* p. 3. c. xxii.

^o Τῶν δ' αὖθις ψυχαῶν, καὶ ὀλίγων χρόνον βιβλίων περὶ ἀλλὰ
ἐλεῖν ΟΥΚ ΑΞΙΑ ΜΝΗΜΗΣ. *De Rep.* l. x. p. 615.
Ser. Ed.

Infants in Purgatory: Which *Plato*, (not reflecting on this Original and Use) appears to have been much shocked at.

But now, as to the *falsely condemned*, the most perplexing Difficulty in the whole *Æneis*, we must seek another Solution:

“Hos juxta, falso damnati crimine mortis;

“Nec vero hæc sine sorte datæ, sine judice sedes.

“Quæsitior Minos urnam movet: ille silentum

“Conciliumque vocat, vitasque & crimina discit.

Here appears a strange Jumble as well as Iniquity in this Designment: The falsely accused ^p are not only in a Place of Punishment, but, being first represented under one Predicament, they are afterwards distinguished, some as blameable, others as innocent. To clear up all this Confusion, we must transcribe an old Story told by *Plato* in his *Gorgias*: “There was this Law concerning Mortals in the Time of *Saturn*, and is now always
 “inforced by the Gods; that he who had lived a
 “just and pious Life, should at his Death be carried into the Islands of the Blessed, and there
 “possess all kinds of Happiness, untainted with
 “the Evils of Mortality: But that he who had
 “lived unjustly and impiously, should be thrust
 “into a Place of Punishment, the Prison of divine
 “Justice, called *Tartarus*. Now the Judges, with
 “whom the Execution of this Law was intrusted,
 “were, in the Time of *Saturn*, and under the
 “fancy of *Jove*’s Government, *living Men, sitting*
 “*in Judgment on the Living*; and decreeing and
 “appointing their Abodes on the very Day on
 “which every one should die. This gave occasion to iniquitous and perverse Judgments: On

^p *Servius* on the Place characterizes them in this manner —
qui sibi per simplicitatem adesse nequiverunt.

“ which Account *Pluto*, and those to whom the
 “ Care of the happy Islands was committed, went
 “ to *Jupiter*, and told him, that Men came to
 “ them wrongly judged, both when acquitted and
 “ when condemned. To which the Father of the
 “ Gods made this Reply : I will put a Stop to this
 “ Evil. These wrong Judgments are partly oc-
 “ casioned by the corporeal Covering of the Persons
 “ judged ; for they are tried while living : Now
 “ many have their corrupted Minds hid under a
 “ fair Outside, adorned with Birth and Riches ; and
 “ when they come to their Trial, they have many
 “ Witnesses at Hand to testify for their good Life
 “ and Conversation : This perverts the Process,
 “ and blinds the Eyes of Justice. Another Cause
 “ of the Evil is, that the Judges themselves are
 “ likewise incumbered with the same corporeal
 “ Covering : The Mind is hid and enveloped in
 “ Eyes and Ears^a, and an impenetrable Tegument
 “ of Flesh. All these are Bars and Obstacles to
 “ right Judgment, as well their own Covering, as
 “ the Covering of those they judge. In the first
 “ Place then, says he, we are to provide that they^r

^a The Original, to ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ ὦτα, adds ἰδόντας *Teeth*. If this be the true Reading, I presume *Plato* intended by it, to ridicule the *Athenian* Judges ; who, like more modern ones, out of Impatience for their Dinner, would sometimes acquit or condemn, before they were possessed of the Merits of the Cause. But as this seems too ludicrous a Circumstance for the Subject, I suspect it rather to be an unmeaning Blunder of some old Transcriber.

^r That αὐτοὺς and αὐτῶν relate here only to the Judges, appears plain from the following Considerations : 1. *Plato* is speaking only of the Judges from the Words οἱ ἐν δικάσαι, &c. and resumes the Subject of those judged at the Words ἐπεὶ αὖτε γυμνασ. 2. A Judicature is here abolished, and the Circumstance of the Abolition is the taking away a Prescience. If it was only the Prescience of the Judges, it was their Authority, and the taking it away was indeed the Abolition of the Jurisdiction, which

“ no longer have a Fore-knowledge of the Day of
 “ Death, which they now foresee. We shall there-
 “ fore give this in Charge to *Prometheus*, to take
 “ away their Prescience ; and then provide that they
 “ who come to Judgment be stripped naked ^s of
 “ all their Disguises : For they are from henceforth
 “ to receive it in another World. And as they
 “ are to be quite stripped, it is but fit the Judges
 “ should be so too : That, at the Arrival of every
 “ new Inhabitant, they being now divested of all
 “ Family and Relations, and every worldly Or-
 “ nament left behind, Soul may look on Soul, and
 “ thereby be enabled to pass a righteous Judgment.
 “ I therefore, who foresaw all these Things, before
 “ you felt them, have taken Care to constitute my
 “ own Sons Judges : Two of them, *Minos* and
 “ *Rhadamanthus*, are *Asiatics* ; the third *Æacus*,
 “ an *European*. These, when they die, shall have
 “ their Tribunal erected in the Shades, *just in that*
 “ Part of the High-way, where the two Roads di-
 “ vide, the one leading to the happy Islands, the
 “ other to *Tartarus*. *Rhadamanthus* shall judge the
 “ *Asiatics*, and *Æacus* the *Europeans* : But to
 “ *Minos* I give the superior Authority of bearing
 “ Appeals, when any thing obscure or difficult shall

is the Point proposed. But if it was the general Prescience of Mankind, then it was no Authority, and the taking it away was no Abolition of the Jurisdiction, contrary to what it is here proposed to be. It is true, it appears that the Persons judged had a Knowledge of the Day of Judgment, by being so well provided to evade an impartial Examination. But this we must reasonably suppose to be effected by that Advantage which the Practice of all Judicatories gives, of acquainting the Person judged with his Day of Trial.

^s All this evidently refers to the old *Egyptian* Custom, when their Judges beheld and examined their Kings naked : ἔγω καὶ ὁ Ἀρχὼν δικαστὴς ὦν ἐν τοῖς παλαιολέροισι χρόνοις, γυμνὸν ἐθεώρει τὴ βασιλεία. *Horapollinis Hierogl.* l. i. c. 40.

“ perplex

“ perplex the other’s Judgments ; that every one
 “ may have his due Abode assigned him with the
 “ utmost Equity :”

The Matter now begins to clear up ; and we see plainly that the Circumstance of the *falsely condemned* alludes intirely to this old Fable : And that by *falso damnati crimine mortis*, VIRGIL did not mean, as one would imagine, *innocentes addicti morti ob injustam calumniam*, but *homines indigne & perperam adjudicati* ; not Men *falsely* condemned,

τὸ ἦν ἐν νόμῳ ὅδε περὶ ἀνθρώπων ἐπὶ Κρόνῳ, καὶ αἰεὶ καὶ νῦν ἔτι
 εἶναι ἐν θεοῖς. τὸ ἀνθρώπων τὸ μὲν δικαίως τὸ βίον διελθόντα καὶ ὁσίως,
 ἐπειδὴν τελευτήσῃ, εἰς μακάρων νήσους ἀπιόντα, οἰκῆν ἐν πάσῃ δαίμο-
 μονίᾳ ἐκτὸς κακῶν. τὸ δὲ ἀδίκως καὶ ἀθίως, εἰς τὸ τὶ τίσεώς τε καὶ δίκης
 δεσμωτήριον, ὃ δὲ τάρταρον καλεῖσιν, ἵεναι. Τῶν δὲ δικαστῶν ἐπὶ
 Κρόνῳ, καὶ ἔτι νεωστὶ δὲ Διὸς τὸ δρχὴν ἔχοντος, ζῶντες ἦσαν ζώντων,
 ἐκείνη ἡμέρᾳ δικάζοντες ἢ μέλλοιεν τελευτᾶν. κακῶς ἐν αἰ δίκαι ἐκρί-
 νοντο. Ὅτε οὖν Πλάτων καὶ οἱ ἐπιμεληταὶ ἐκ μακάρων νήσων ἰόντες,
 ἔλεγον πρὸς τὸ Δία, ὅτι φοιτῶν σφὶν ἄνθρωποι ἐκατέρωσε ἀνάξιοι, εἶπεν
 ἐν ὁ Ζεὺς, Ἄλλ’ ἐγὼ (εἶπεν) παύσω τῆτο γινόμενον. νῦν μὲν γὰρ κα-
 κῶς αἱ δίκαι δικάζοντο. ἀμπεχόμενοι γὰρ (εἶπεν) οἱ κρινόμενοι κρίνοντο.
 ζῶντες γὰρ κρίνοντο. Πολλοὶ ἐν ψυχᾷ πονηρὰς ἔχοντες, ἡμφισμύουσι
 εἰς σώματά τε καλὰ, καὶ γῆν καὶ πλάττες. καὶ ἐπειδὴν ἡ κρίσις ἦ,
 ἔρχοντο αὐτοῖς πολλοὶ μάρτυρες, μαρτυρήσαντες ὡς δικαίως βεβιώκασιν.
 Οἱ δὲ δικασταὶ ὑπὸ τε τῶν ἐκπλήτην, καὶ ἅμα καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀμπεχό-
 μνοι δικάζουσι, πρὸς τὴν ψυχῆς τὴν αὐτῆς ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ ὦτα καὶ ὅλον τὸ
 σῶμα περικεκαλυμμένοι. Ταῦτα δὲ αὐτοῖς πάντα ἐπίπροσθεν γίνετο, καὶ
 τὰ αὐτῶν ἀμφιέσματά, καὶ τὰ τῶν κρινόμενων. Πρῶτον μὲν ἐν (εἶπεν)
 παυσίον ἐστὶ πρῆιδότας αὐτῆς τὸ θάνατον. νῦν γὰρ πρῆισασι. τῆτο
 μὲν ἐν καὶ δὴ εἶρηται τῷ Περμηθεῖ, ὅπως αὖν παύσῃ αὐτῆς. ἐπειτα
 γυμνὰς κελίον ἀπάντων τῶν τεθνεώτας γὰρ δεῖ κρίνεσθαι. καὶ τὸν
 κελὴν δεῖ γυμνὸν εἶναι, τεθνεῶτα, αὐτῇ τῇ ψυχῇ αὐτὴν τὴν ψυχὴν
 θεωρεῖν, ἐξαίφνης λήθανόντι ἐκάσθαι, ἔρημον πάντων τῶν συγγενῶν.
 καὶ ἀλιπρόντα ἐπὶ τῇ γῆς πάντα ἐκείνον τὸν κόσμον, ἵνα δικαία ἡ κρίσις
 ἦ. Ἐγὼ μὲν ἐν ταῦτα ἔγνωκας πρότερον ἢ ὑμεῖς, ἐποίησά μιν δικα-
 σὰς ἡμεῖς ἐμαυτῶν. δύο μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίας, Μίνω τε καὶ Ραδαμάνθυ.
 ἵνα δὲ ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ, Αἰακόν. Οὗτοι ἐν ἐπειδὴν τελευτήσωσι, δι-
 κάσασιν ἐν τῷ λειμῶνι, ἐν τῇ τριόδῳ, ἐξ ἧς φέρεται τὸ ὁδὸν, ἢ μὲν
 εἰς μακάρων νήσους, ἢ δὲ εἰς τάρταρον. καὶ τὰς μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίας
 Ραδαμάνθυς κρινεῖ, τὰς δὲ ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ Αἰακός. Μίνω δὲ πρῆσ-
 θεία δώσω, ἐπιδιακρίνειν, εἰ ἢ ἀπερρητόν τι τῷ ἐτέρῳ, ἵνα ὡς δι-
 καιολάτῃ ἡ κρίσις ἦ περὶ τῆς πορείας τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. Tom. i. p.
 523. Serr. Ed.

but *wrongly judged*, whether to Acquittal or Conviction: For Condemnation being ofteneft the Sentence of Justice, the greater Part is put figuratively for the whole^v: What follows,

“ Nec vero hæ sine forte datæ, sine judice fedes,
and, ——— “ *Vitalque & crimina discit,*

agreeing only to this Interpretation (as supposing a wrong Sentence in Acquittal, as well as Condemnation) confirms the Truth of it; and thus the whole becomes consistent. One only Difficulty remains, and that, to confess the Truth, hath arisen rather from a Mistake of *Virgil's* than of his Readers. We find these People, yet unjudged, fixed already in an assigned District, with other Criminals, in Purgatory. But they are wrong stationed, through an Oversight of the Poet; which, had he lived to perfect the *Æneis*, doubtless he would have reformed: for we see, by the Fable, they should have been placed on the Borders of the three Divisions, in that Part of the high Road that divides itself in two, which lead to *Tartarus* and *Elysium*; thus, afterwards, described by the Poet:

“ Hic locus est, partes ubi se via findit in ambas,
“ Dexteræ, quæ Ditis magni sub mœnia tendit:
“ Hic iter Elysium nobis; at læva malorum
“ Exercet pœnas, & ad impia Tartara mittit.

^v He that thinks this too licentious a Figure, perhaps will be inclined to believe, that the Poet wrote,

“ Hos juxta, falso damnati TEMPORE mortis:

Which both points up to the Fable from whence this Circumstance was borrowed, and hints at the Original of that Fable as here explained; and besides this agrees best with the Context. But a Transcriber not knowing what to make of *tempore mortis* (it being only to be explained by this Passage of *Plato*) might be easily tempted to change it into *crimine mortis*.

It

It only now remains to consider the Ground and Original of the Fable ; which, I think, was this : It was an *Egyptian* Custom, as we are told by *Diodorus Siculus*, for Judges to be appointed at every one's Interment ; to examine his past Life, and to condemn and acquit, according to the Evidence. These Judges were of the Priesthood ; and so, it is probable, taught, like the Priests of the Church of *Rome*, that their Decrees were ratified in the Shades below : Partiality and Corruption would, in Time, pervert their Sentence ; and Spite and Favour prevail over Justice : As this might scandalize the People, it would be found necessary to teach that the Judgment, which influenced every one's final Doom, was reserved for the Judicature of the other World. However the Priest took care that all should not go out of his Hands ; and when he could be no longer Judge, he contrived to turn *Evidence* ; and no doubt found his Account in it : As appears by this ancient Inscription : *Ego Sextus Anicius Pontifex TESTOR honeste hunc vixisse : Manes ejus inveniant quietem* ^w."

This, I suppose, was what gave Birth to the general Fable : But there is one Circumstance, which *this* does not so clearly account for ; namely, of *the Judges passing Sentence in Life, and predicting the Day of the Criminal's Death* ; and the Order to *Prometheus, on the Abolition of their Judicature, to take away this Gift of Prescience*. To understand these Things, we must conclude, what is very probable, that the Custom, mentioned above by *Diodorus*, was only the Succession of a more early one ; where the Priests judged the living Criminal for those Crimes that the Civil Tribunal could not so conveniently take Notice of ; which is the only justi-

^w *Fabius Celsus Inscript. Antiq. l. iii.*

fiable Use of an Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, with coactive Power. If this be so, then, by *predicting the Day of the Criminal's Death* was meant *the Infliction of a capital Punishment*: and, by *Prometheus's taking the Gift from them*, the *Civil Magistrate's Abolition of the Jurisdiction*: And the Name *Prometheus* was not ill assigned to him, who forms the Minds and Manners of the People by the plastic Arts of Society. This, in my Opinion, was the Original of *Plato's Fable*; and he seems plainly to have had that Original in Mind, when he makes *Socrates* introduce it thus: *Hear then, as they say, a celebrated Tale; which you, I imagine, will call a Fable, but I a true Story* ^x.

I hope this perplexed Matter is now unravelled, How much it wanted Explanation may be seen by what one of the finest Writers of his Time hath said of it, in a Discourse wrote to illustrate *Æneas's* Descent into Hell: *There are three Kinds of Persons*, says this celebrated Author, *described as being situated on the BORDERS*; and I can give no Reason for their being stationed there in so particular a Manner, but because none of them seem to have had a proper Right to a Place among the Dead, as not having run out the Thread of their Days, and finished the Term of Life that had been allotted them upon Earth: The first of these are the Souls of Infants, who are snatched away by untimely Ends; the second are of those who are put to Death wrongfully, and by an unjust Sentence; and the third, of those who grew weary of their Lives, and laid violent Hands upon themselves ^y.

After this, follow the two Episodes of *Dido* and *Deiphobus*, in Imitation of *Homer*; where we find

^x ΣΩΚΡ. "Ακχε δὴ (φασὶ) μάλα καλῶ λόγῳ· ὃν σὺ μὲν ἡγήσῃ μῦθον, ὡς ἐγὼ οἶμαι· ἐγὼ δὲ λόγον.

^y Mr. Addison's Works, Vol. ii. p. 300. Quarto Ed. 1721.

nothing to our Purpose, but the strange Description of the latter, whose mangled Phantom is drawn according to the Philosophy of *Plato*; who teaches in his *Gorgias*, that the Dead not only retain all the Passions of the Soul, but all the Marks and Blemishes of the Body ^z.

Aeneas, having passed this first Division, comes now on the Confines of *Tartarus*; and is instructed in what relates to the Crimes and Punishments of the Inhabitants, by his Guide; who declares her Office of *Hierophante*, or Interpreter of the Mysteries, in these Words:

“ Dux inclyte Teucrûm,
 “ Nulli fas casto sceleratum insistere limen :
 “ Sed me, cum lucis Hecate præfecit avernis,
 “ Ipsa Deûm pœnas docuit, perque omnia duxit.

It is remarkable, that *Aeneas* is led through the Regions of Purgatory and *Elysium*; but he only sees the Sights of *Tartarus* at a Distance, which his Guide explains to him :

“ Tum demum horrifono stridentes cardine sacræ
 “ Panduntur portæ: Cernis, custodia qualis
 “ Vestibulo sedeat; facies quæ limina servet.

For thus it must needs be, in the Shews of the Mysteries, for very obvious Reasons.

The Criminals destined to eternal Punishment, in this Division, are,

1. Those who had *sinned so secretly as to escape the Animadversion of the Magistrate*:

^z Μασίγας αὖ εἴτις ἦν, καὶ ἰχνη εἶχε τῶν πληγῶν εἰλὰς ἐν τῷ σώματι, ἢ ὑπὸ μασίγων ἢ ἄλλων τραυμάτων ζῶν, καὶ τεθνεῶν τὸ σῶμα εἶναι ἰδεῖν αὐτὰ ἔχον· καλεαγότα εἶτε ἦν μέρη, ἢ διεσπασμένα ζῶντα, καὶ τεθνεῶν αὐτὰ ἐνδύλα· ἐνὶ ᾧ λόγῳ οἷος εἶναι παρεσκόβαστο τὸ σῶμα ζῶν, ἐνδύλα αὐτὰ καὶ τελευτήσαντι αὐτὰ πάντα, ἢ τὰ πολλὰ ἐπὶ τινι χρόνῳ. P. 524.

“ Gnoſſius hæc Rhadamanthus habet duriffima
 “ regna :

“ Caſtigatque auditque dolos, ſubigitque fateri

“ Quæ quis apud ſuperos, furto lætatus inani,

“ Diſtulit in ſeram commiſſa piacula mortem.

And it was principally on Account of ſuch Crimes that the Legiſlator *inforced* the Doctrine of a future State of Punishment.

2. *The Atheiſtical Deſpiſers of God and Religion :*

“ Hic genus antiquum terræ Titania pubes.

This was agreeable to the Laws of *Charondas*, who ſays: *Be the Contempt of the Gods put in the number of the moſt flagitious Crimes*^a. The Poet dwells particularly on that Species of Impiety which affects divine Honours :

“ Vidi & crudeles dantem Salmonea pœnas,

“ Dum flammas Jovis & ſonitus imitatur Olympi.

And this was doubtleſs deſigned by him for an oblique Reflexion on the *Apotheoſis*, then beginning to be paid and received at *Rome*.

3. *The Infringers of the Duties of Imperfect Obligation, which Civil Laws cannot reach :* ſuch as thoſe without natural Affection to Brothers, Duty to Parents, Protection to Clients, or Charity to the Poor :

“ Hic quibus inviſi fratres, dum vita manebat ;

“ Pulſatufve parens ; & fraus innexa clienti^b ;

“ Aut qui divitiis ſoli incubuère repertis,

“ Nec partem poſuère ſuis ; quæ maxima turba eſt.

^a Ἐὼς δὲ μέγιστα ἀδικήματα θεῶν καὶ ἀφρόνησις. *apud Stob. Serm. 42.*

^b So the Law of the Twelve Tables: PATRONUS SI CLIENTI FRAUDEM FECERIT, SACER ESTO.

4. Those Pests of public and private Peace, the *Traytor* and the *Adulterer*:

“ Quique ob adulterium cæsi, quique arma secuti
 “ Impia, nec veriti dominorum fallere dextras —
 “ Vendidit hic auro patriam, dominumque poten-
 “ tem
 “ Imposuit ; fixit leges pretio, atque refixit.
 “ Hic thalamum invasit natæ, vetitosque hymenæos.

It is observable, he does not say, simply, *Adulteri*, but *ob adulterium cæsi* ; as implying that the greatest Civil Punishment makes no Atonement for this Crime at the Bar of Divine Justice.

5. The fifth and last Species of Offenders are the *Invaders and Violators of the holy Mysteries*, held out in the Person of *Theseus* :

—— “ Sedet, æternumque sedebit
 “ Infelix Theseus ; Phlegyasque miserrimus omnes
 “ Admonet, & magna testatur voce per umbras :
 “ DISCITE JUSTITIAM MONITI, ET NON TEM-
 NERE DIVOS.

The Fable says, that *Theseus* and his Friend *Pirithous* formed a Design to steal *Proserpine* from Hell ; but being taken in the Fact, *Pirithous* was thrown to the Dog *Cerberus*, and *Theseus* kept in Chains^c, 'till delivered by *Hercules*. By which, without doubt, was designed the Punishment of one by Death, and of the other by Imprisonment, for their clandestine Intrusion into the Mysteries. We have already given several Reasons to prove the Descent of *Theseus* to be a violent Intrusion, to which we may add what the Ancients tell us of the Time of his Imprisonment, namely four Years ; the exact

^c Καταχθέντων ὃ αὐτῶν, Πειρίθοῦ μὲν ἐβράδην
 τῷ τελευτήσῳ τῷ κυνὶ, Θησεύς δ' εἰς κλῆν καλεῖται.

Jo. Tzetzes, C. II. Cap. LI.

Space between the Celebrations of the greater Mysteries. So *Seneca* makes him say :

- “ Tandem profugi noctis æternæ plagam,
 “ Vastoque manes carcere umbrantem Polum.
 “ Ut vix cupitum sufferunt oculi diem !
 “ Jam quarta *Eleufis* dona Triptolemi fecat,
 “ Paremque toties Libra composuit diem ;
 “ Ambiguus ut me fortis ignaræ labor
 “ Detinuit inter mortis & vitæ mala^d.

Thus we may reconcile the contradictory Accounts of the Fable concerning *Theseus*, some of which say he was delivered from Hell, others, that he was there eternally detained. The *first* relate to the Liberty given him by the President of the Mysteries : the *other*, to what the Mysteries taught was the Lot of the Violators of them in the other World. This leads me to a Circumstance which will much confirm our general Interpretation of this famous Book. In *Æneas*'s Speech to the Sibyl, *Theseus* is put amongst those Heroes who went to, and returned from Hell :

- “ Quid Thesea Magnum,
 “ Quid memorem Alciden? —

But afterwards he is represented as eternally confined there. *Julius Hyginus*, in his *Commentaries* on *Virgil*^e, thinks this a gross Contradiction ; which *Virgil* would have corrected had he lived to finish the Poem. But can any Man believe that the Poet was not aware of these two contradictory Accounts so near one another in the same Book? I have here reconciled them : And his employing them both confirms, as we say, our general Interpretation. *Æneas* wanted to be *initiated*, and where he speaks to the Sibyl, or *Mystagogue*, he enumerates those

^d *Hippol.*^e *A. Gellii Noct. Att.* l. 10. c. 16.

Heroes who had been initiated before him, that is, those who had seen the Shews of the Mysteries, of which Number was *Theseus*, tho' he had intruded violently. But when *Virgil* comes to describe the Shews of the Mysteries, which were supposed to be a true Representation of what was done and suffered in Hell, *Theseus* is put among the Damned, that being his Destiny after Death.

This reminds me of a Story told by *Livy*. The Athenians (says he) drew upon themselves a War with Philip, on a very slight Occasion; and at a Time when nothing remained of their ancient Fortune, but their high Spirit. Two young Acarnanians, during the Days of Initiation, themselves uninitiated and ignorant of all that related to that secret Worship, entred the Temple of Ceres along with the Croud. Their Discourse soon betrayed them; as making some absurd Enquiries into what they saw: so being brought before the President of the Mysteries, although it was evident they had entred ignorantly and without Design, they were put to Death, as guilty of a most abominable Impiety^f.

The *Phlegyæ* here mentioned, I take to be those People of *Bæotia* spoken of by *Pausanias*, who attempting to plunder the Temple of *Apollo* at *Delphi*, were almost all destroyed by Lightning, Earthquakes and Pestilence: Hence *Phlegyæ*, I suppose, signified impious, sacrilegious Persons in general; and is so to be understood in this Place.

^f Contraxerant autem cum Philippo bellum Athenienses haudquaquam dignâ causâ, dum ex vetere fortunâ nihil præter animos servant. Acarnanes duo juvenes per initiorum dies, non initiati, templum Cereris, imprudentes Religionis, cum ceterâ turbâ ingressi sunt. Facile eos sermo prodidit, absurdè quædam percunctantes; deductique ad antistites templi cum palam esset per errorem ingressos, tanquam ob infandum scelus, interfecti sunt. *Hist. lib. 31.*

The Office *Theseus* is put upon, of admonishing his Hearers against *Impiety*, could not, sure, be discharged in these Shews of the Mysteries by any one so well, as by him who represented the Violator of them. And here it is to be observed, that our View of Things frees this Passage from an Absurdity, which the Critics knew not how to remove. Who saw there could not be a more impertinent Employment, than perpetually founding in the Ears of the Damned this Admonition:

DISCITE JUSTITIAM MONITI, ET NON TEM-
NERE DIVOS.

For though it was a Sentence of great Truth and Dignity, it was very uselessly preached amongst those, to whom there was no room for Pardon or Remission.

Even the ridiculous *Scarron*, who has employed all his poor Talents in abusing the most useful Poem that ever was written, hath not neglected to urge this Objection against it^s: And it must be confessed that, according to the common Ideas of *Æneas's* Descent into Hell, *Virgil* hath put *Theseus* on a very impertinent Office.

But nothing could be juster, or more useful than this continued Admonition, if we suppose *Virgil* to be here giving a Representation of what was said during the Celebration of these mystical Shews: For then it was addressed to the vast Multitude of living Spectators. And that this admonitory Circumstance made Part of the Representations, is not a bare Supposition. *Aristides* expressly tells us^h,

^s “ Cette sentence est bonne & belle,

“ Mais en Enfer de quoi sert-elle?

^h Τίνι δ' ἄλλω χωρίων, ἢ μύθων φῆμαι θαυμαστότερα ἐφύμνησαν, ἢ τὰ δρώμενα μείζω ἔχει τ' ἐκπληξιν, ἢ μάλλον εἰς ἐφάμιλλον καλίστη ταῖς ἀκοαῖς τὰ ὀρώμενα; *Eleusiniā*.

that in no Place more astonishing Words were sung than in these *Mysteries*: The Reason for this Practice was, that the *Sounds* and *Sights* might mutually assist each other in making an Impression on the Minds of the *Initiated*. But, from a Passage in *Pindar*, I conclude, that in these Shews (from whence Men took their Ideas of the infernal Regions) it was customary for each Offender represented under Punishment, to make his Admonition against his own Crime, as he passed by in Machinery. *It is reported* (says Pindar) *that Ixion, while he is incessantly turning round his rapid Wheel, calls out to this Effect to MORTALS, That they should be always at Hand to repay a Benefactor for the Kindnesses he had done them*ⁱ. Where the Word *BPOTOI*, living Men, seems plainly to shew that the Speech was first made before Men in this World.

The Poet closes his Catalogue of the Damned with these Words:

“ *Ausi omnes immane nefas, AUOQUE POTITI.*

For the Ancients had a common Notion, that an Action was sanctified by the Success; which they esteemed a Mark of the Favour and Approbation of Heaven. As this was a very pernicious Opinion, it was necessary to teach that the Imperial Villain who enslaved his Country, and the baffled Plotter who expired on a Gibbet, were equally the Objects of divine Vengeance.

Æneas having now passed *Tartarus*, comes to the Borders of *Elysium*. Here he undergoes the *Lustration*:

i Ἰξίωνα φαντὶ ζῶντα
Βροτοῖς λέγειν, ἐν πλερώσει τροχῶν
Παντῶν κυλινοδόμον,
Τὸν δ' ἐργέταν ἀγαναῖς ἀμοιβᾶς
Ἐπεχόμενος τίνας.

2 *Pyth.*

“ *Occupat*

“ Occupat Æneas aditum, corpusque recenti

“ Spargit aquâ, ramumque adverso in limine figit.

And thus end the LESSER MYSTERIES. *Being now about to undergo the Lustrations* (says Sopater) *which immediately precede Initiation into the greater Mysteries, they called me happy^k.* The Hero then enters on the GREATER MYSTERIES, and comes to the Abodes of the Blessed :

“ Devenere locos lætos, & amoëna vireta

“ Fortunatorum nemorum, fedesque beatas :

“ Largior hic campos æther, & lumine vestit

“ Purpureo: solemque suum, sua sidera norunt.

The Initiated were now called Ἐπόπται, as before, Μύσαι; and this Representation, Ἀυτοψία. *The Ἀυτοψία, or the beholding with their own Eyes* (says Psellus) *is when he who is initiated beholds the divine Lights^l.*

In the very same Manner Themistius describes the Initiated just entered upon this Scene. *It being thoroughly purified, he now discloses to the Initiated, a Region^m all over illuminated, and shining with a divine Splendour. The Cloud and thick Darkness are dispersed; and the Mind emerges, as it were, into Day,*

^k Μέλλων ᾗ τοῖς καθαρσίοις, τοῖς πρὸ τῆς τελείης, ἐντυγχάνειν, ἐκάλειν οὐδαίμονα ἑμαυτὸν. *In Divis. Quæst.*

^l Αὐτόψια ἐστίν, ὅταν αὐτὸς ὁ τελεῖς τὰ θεῖα φῶτα ὁρᾷ. *In Schol. in Orac. Zoroast.*

^m This which was *all over illuminated*, and which the Priest had *thoroughly purified* was ἄγαλμα, an Image. The Reason of my transferring what is said of *its Illumination* to the *Region* is, because this Image represented the Appearances of the Divine Being. Thus *Jamblicus de Mysteriis*: Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῷ αὐτοφανῶν ΑΓΑΛΜΑΤΩΝ λόγος ἀφορισώμεθα· ἐκδὲν ἐν μὲν ταῖς τῷ θεῶν ΑΥΤΟΨΙΑΙΣ, ἐνεργέσας καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς ἀληθείας ὁρᾶται τὰ θεάμυχα, ἀκραιδῶς τε ἀλαλάμπει, καὶ διηθερωμένη λαμπρῶς ἐμφαίνεται. — And again: Ὡσαύτως τοίνυν καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ΦΩΤΟΣ· τὰ μὲν τῷ θεῶν ΑΓΑΛΜΑΤΑ φῶτος πλεονάζοντα. *Sect. ii. c. 4.* Hence it ap-

full

full of Light and Chearfulness, as before, of disconsolate Obscurityⁿ.

Here *Virgil*, by forsaking *Homer*, and following the Representations of the Mysteries, in their amiable Paintings of *Elysium*, hath avoided a terrible Error which his Master fell into; who had given so unamiable and joyless a Picture of the *fortunata nemora*, that they could raise no Desire or Appetite for them; defeating thereby the Intent of the Lawgiver in propagating the Belief of them. He makes even his Favourite Hero himself, who possessed them, tell *Ulysses*, that he had rather be a Day-labourer above, than command the Regions of the Dead; and all his Heroes in general are described as in an unhappy State: Nay, to mortify every Excitement to great and virtuous Actions, he makes Reputation, Fame, and Glory, the great Spurs to well-doing in the Pagan System, and which in no System should be entirely taken off, to be visionary and impertinent. On the contrary, *Virgil*, whose sole Aim, in this Poem, was the

pears that these mystical Images were only a great Light which illuminated all around. To this, the following Lines in the Oracles of *Zoroaster* allude:

Μὴ φύσεως καλέσης ΑΥΤΟΠΤΟΝ ΑΓΑΛΜΑ,
Οὐ γὰρ ἔξῃ κείνους σε βλέπειν πρὶν σῶμα ΤΕΛΕΣΘΗ.

Invoke not the self-conspicuous Image of Nature, for thou must not behold these Things before thy Body be purified by Initiation. This αὐτοπτον ἄγαλμα was only a diffusive shining Light, as the Name partly declares, thus described presently after in the same Oracles:

Ἦνίκα βλέψῃς μορφῆς ἄτερ εἴεσθαι πῦρ,
Λαμπόρμον σκιεῖν δὸν ὅλα κτ' βένθεα κόσμου,
Κλῦθι πυρὸς φωνῶ.

□ — Δυσμύζας πανταχόθεν, ἐπεδείκνυ τῷ μυημένῳ μαρμαχέουσιν
τε ἤδη, καὶ αὐγῇ καλαλαμπόρμον δεσπεσία, ἥτε ὀμίχλη ἐκείνη, καὶ
τὸ νέφεος ἀθρόον, ὑπερῆγνυτο· καὶ ἐξεβαίνειτο ὁ νῆς ἐν τῷ βάθει,
φέγγος ἀνάπλεως καὶ ἀγλαΐας ἀντὶ τῷ πρῶτερον σκότει. *Orat. in Patrem.*

Good of Society, makes Fame and Love of Glory so strong Passions in the other World, that the Sibyl's Promise to *Palinurus*, only that his Name should be perpetuated, rejoices his Shade even in the Regions of the Unhappy :

“ *Æternumque locus Palinuri nomen habebit:*

“ His dictis curæ emotæ, pulsusque parumper

“ Corde dolor tristi; gaudet cognomine terra.

It was this ungracious Description of Elysium, and the licentious Stories of the Gods, both so pernicious to Society, that made *Plato* banish *Homer* out of his Republic.

1. The first Place, in the happy Regions, the Poet gives to *the Legislators, and those who brought Mankind from a State of Nature into Society:*

“ *Magnanimi Heroës, nati melioribus annis.*

At the Head of these is *Orpheus*, the most renowned of the *European* Lawgivers; but better known under the Character of Poet: For the first Laws being written in measure, to allure Men to learn them, and when learnt, to retain them, the Fable would have it, that by the Force of Harmony, *Orpheus* softned the Savage Inhabitants of *Thrace* :

“ *Threïcius longâ cum veste sacerdos*

“ *Obloquitur numeris septem discrimina vocum.*

But he has the first Place, because he was not only a Lawgiver, but the Bringer of the Mysteries into that Part of *Europe*.

2. The next Place is allotted to *Patriots, and those who died for the Service of their Country:*

“ *Hic manus, ob patriam pugnando vulnera passi.*

3. The third to *virtuous and pious Priests:*

“ *Quique*

“ Quique sacerdotes casti, dum vita manebat ;
 “ Quique pii vates & Phœbo digna locuti.

For it was of principal Use to Society, that religious Men should lead holy Lives, and teach nothing of the Gods but what was agreeable to the Divine Nature.

4. The last Place is given to the *Inventors of Arts mechanical and liberal* :

“ Inventas aut qui vitam excoluere per artes ;
 “ Quique sui memores alios fecere merendo.

Virgil has here all along closely followed the Teachers in the Mysteries, who incessantly inculcated that Virtue only could entitle Men to Happiness ; and that Rites, Ceremonies, Lustrations, and Sacrifices could not supply the Want of it.

But now, notwithstanding the entire Conformity between all these Scenes and those represented in the Mysteries, something is still wanting to give the last Conviction to the Truth of our Interpretation ; and that is, the famous SECRET of the Mysteries, of which so much hath been said in the last Section ; where we have endeavoured to bring it out to Light, and to shew that it was the Doctrine of the *Unity of the Godhead*. Had *Virgil* neglected to give us this principal Mark, though we must needs have said his Intention was *to represent an Initiation*, we had been forced to own he had done it but imperfectly. But he was too good a Painter, to leave any thing ambiguous in his Drawings ; and hath therefore concluded his Hero's *Initiation*, as was the Custom, with instructing him in the ΑΠΟΡΡΗΤΑ, or the Doctrine of the *Unity*. 'Till this was done, the *Initiated* was not arrived to the highest Stage of Perfection ; nor was in the fullest Sense intitled to the Appellation of ΕΠΟΠΤΗΣ.

Museus, therefore, who had been *Hierophant* at *Athens*, is made to conduct him to the Place where his Father's Shade opens to him this hidden Doctrine of Perfection, in these sublime Words:

“ Principio cœlum, ac terras, camposque liquentes,
 “ Lucentemque globum Lunæ, Titaniaque astra
 “ SPIRITUS INTUS ALIT, totamque infusa per artus
 “ MENS agitat molem, & magno se corpore miscet.
 “ Inde hominum pecudumque genus, vitæque vo-
 “ lantum,
 “ Et quæ marmoreo fert monstra sub æquore pon-
 “ tus.

And this was no other than the Doctrine of the old *Egyptians*, as we are assured by *Plato*: who says they taught that *Jupiter* was the SPIRIT WHICH PERVADETH ALL THINGS °.

Anchises proceeds to explain the Nature and Use of Purgatory, which in his Hero's Passage through that Region, had not been done: and then comes to the Doctrine of the *Metempsychosis*, or Transmigration. A Notion sedulously taught in the *Mysteries* to clear up the moral Attributes of God. This affords the Poet an Opportunity for the noblest Episode in the World; where the Hero's Posterity passes in Review before him: and with this the Scene closes. One might have well allowed *Virgil* the Use of so important an Episode, though it had been foreign to the Nature of the *Mysteries* he is describing. But indeed he was even here following their Customs very closely. It was then, and had been for some Time, the Practice of the *Mysteries*, when communicated to any *Aspirant* of a distinguished Station, to exhibit to him, in their

° Ἰδωμεν ὃ καὶ τὰ τέτων παλαιάτα· ἢν ὃ τὰ Αἰγύπτια· ὃ
 ἔστι φασὶ ἔσθ'· — καὶ Δία μὲν, τὸ ΔΙΑ ΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΧΩΡΩΝ
 ΠΝΕΥΜΑ. *In Cratyl.*

Shews and *Representations*, something relating to his own Fortune and Affairs. Thus *Himerius* tells us, that *Olympia*, on her Recovery from the Birth of *Alexander*, was initiated in the *Samothracian Mysteries*, where she saw in the *Shews* her Husband *Philip* at that Time in *Potidæa*^P.

We have, in attending the Hero's Progress through the three Estates of the Dead, at almost every Step he made, shewn, from some ancient Author, the exact Conformity of his Adventures to those of the Initiated in the Mysteries. We shall now collect all these scattered Lights to a Point; which will, I am persuaded, throw such a Lustre on our Interpretation, as to make the Truth irresistible. To this Purpose I shall transcribe a remarkable Passage of an ancient Writer, preserved by *Stobæus*: Which is as exact a Description of *Æneas's* Adventure, as of that it was designed for, namely the *Shews of the Mysteries*. His Words are these: THE MIND IS AFFECTED IN DEATH, JUST AS IT IS IN THE INITIATION INTO THE GRAND MYSTERIES. AND WORD ANSWERS TO WORD, AS WELL AS THING TO THING: FOR ΤΕΛΕΤΤΑΙΝ IS, TO DIE; AND ΤΕΛΕΙΣΘΑΙ, TO BE INITIATED. THE FIRST STAGE IS NOTHING BUT ERRORS AND UNCERTAINTIES; LABORIOUS WANDERINGS; A RUDE AND FEARFUL MARCH THROUGH NIGHT AND DARKNESS. AND NOW ARRIVED ON THE VERGE OF DEATH, AND INITIATION, EVERY THING WEARS A DREADFUL ASPECT: IT IS ALL HORROR, TREMBLING, SWEATING, AND AFFRIGHTMENT. BUT THIS SCENE ONCE PAST, A MIRACULOUS AND DIVINE

^P Λέγεται ποτε καὶ Ὀλυμπιάδα, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τοκοῖς δαίμονα ὀργιάζουσαν τὰ Καθεύρων ἐν Σαμοθράκη μυστήρια, ἰδεῖν καὶ τὴν τελευτῶν καὶ Φίλιππον. *In Eclog. Declam. apud Photium Cod.* 165, 243.

LIGHT DISCLOSES ITSELF: AND SHINING PLAINS AND FLOWERY MEADOWS OPEN ON ALL HANDS BEFORE THEM. HERE THEY ARE ENTERTAINED WITH HYMNS, AND DANCES, WITH THE SUBLIME DOCTRINES OF SACRED KNOWLEDGE, AND WITH REVEREND AND HOLY VISIONS. AND NOW, BECOME PERFECT AND INITIATED, THEY ARE FREE, AND NO LONGER UNDER RESTRAINTS; BUT CROWNED AND TRIUMPHANT, THEY WALK UP AND DOWN THE REGIONS OF THE BLESSED; CONVERSE WITH PURE AND HOLY MEN; AND CELEBRATE THE SACRED MYSTERIES AT PLEASURE⁹.

The Progress finished, and every Thing over, *Æneas* and his Guide are let out again to the upper Regions, through the Ivory Gate. For we are

⁹ Τὸ δὲ πάχυν πάθος, οἷον οἱ τελεῖαις μεγάλας καλοργιαζόμενοι· διὸ καὶ τὸ ῥῆμα τῷ ῥήματι, καὶ τὸ ἔργον τῷ ἔργῳ ἔτελευτᾷ καὶ τελεῖσθαι προσείκε, πλάναι τὰ πρῶτα καὶ πειδισμαὶ κοπώδεις, καὶ ἀπὸ σκότους τινὸς ὑποπλοὶ πορεύει καὶ ἀτέλῃ· εἴτα πρὸς τὸ τέλος αὐτὰ τὰ δεινὰ πάντα, φρίκη, καὶ τρόμος, καὶ ἰδρῶς, καὶ θάμβος· ἐν δὲ τούτοις, ὥς τι θαυμάσιον ἀπῆνῃσεν, ἢ τόποι καθαρῶς, καὶ λειμῶνες ἐδέξαντο, φωναὶ καὶ χοροὶ καὶ σεμνότητος ἀκροσμάτων ἱερῶν, καὶ φαντασμάτων ἁγίων ἔχοντες· ἐν αἷς δὲ παντελὴς ἡδὴ καὶ μεμνημένῳ ἰλδύθεον γεγονῶς, καὶ ἀφείδον, δειῶν ἐσεφανωμένῳ ὀργιάζει· καὶ σώεσιν ὁσίοις καὶ καθαροῖς ἀνδράσι. *Sermo cxix.* The Son of Sirach, who was full of Grecian Ideas, and hath embellished his admirable work of ECCLESIASTICUS with a great deal of Gentile Learning, hath plainly alluded, tho' in few Words, to the Circumstances of Initiation, where encouraging Men to seek after Wisdom, he says:—"At first she will walk with him by "CROOKED Ways, and bring FEAR and DREAD upon him, "and torment him with her Discipline, until she may TRUST his "Soul, and try him by her Laws. Then will she return the "STRAIGHT Way unto him, and COMFORT him, and shew "him her SECRETS." Chap. iv. ὧ 17, 18.—διεσραμμένως πορεύεται μετ' αὐτῶ ἐν πρῶτοις· ΦΟΒΟΝ δὲ καὶ ΔΕΙΛΙΑΝ ἐπάξει ἐπ' αὐτὸν, καὶ βασανίσει αὐτὸν ἐν παιδείᾳ αὐτῆς, ἕως δὲ ΕΜΠΙΣΤΕΥΣΗ τῇ ψυχῇ αὐτῆς· καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς δικαιώμασιν αὐτῆς. Καὶ πάλιν ἐπανήξει κατ' ὁδοῦ πρὸς αὐτὸν, καὶ ΕΥΦΡΑΝΕΙ αὐτὸν, καὶ ΑΠΟΚΑΛΥΨΕΙ αὐτῷ τὰ ΚΡΥΠΤΑ αὐτῆς.

told

told there are two ; one of Horn, and the other of Ivory ; and that *true Visions* proceed from the first, and *false* from the latter.

- “ Sunt geminæ Somni portæ : quarum altera fertur
 “ Cornea, quâ *veris* facilis datur exitus umbris :
 “ Altera candenti perfectâ nitens elephanto ;
 “ Sed *falsa* ad cœlum mittunt infomnia manes.
 “ His ubi tum natum *Anchises*, unaque Sibyllam
 “ Prosequitur dictis, *portâque* emittit eburnâ.

Upon which *Servius*, with the cold Sentiments of a Grammarian, only says, *Vult autem intelligi, falsa esse omnia quæ dixit.* He would have you understand by this, that all he has been saying is false and groundless. And this is the common Interpretation of the Critics. *Ruæus*, one of the best of them, speaks to the same Purpose : *Cum igitur Virgilius Æneam eburneâ portâ emittit, indicat profecto, quidquid à se de illo inferorum aditu dictum est, in fabulis esse numerandum.* This Conclusion is strengthened by the Circumstance of *Virgil's* being an Epicurean ; and speaking to the same Purpose, in his second *Georgic* :

- “ Felix, qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas,
 “ Atque metus omnes & inexorabile fatum
 “ Subjecit pedibus, *strepitumque Acherontis avari* !

But what a wretched Conclusion do these Men make the Divine Poet put to this Master-piece of all his Works ! Which he wrote, not for the Amusement of Women and Children in a Winter's Evening, in the Taste of the *Milesian Fables* ; but for the Use of Men and Citizens ; to instruct them in the Duties of Humanity and Society. His Ends therefore in this Book must have been, *First*, to make the *Doctrine of a future State* useful in Civil Life ; which, it is evident he hath done in the Distribution of the

Rewards and Punishments of it. *Secondly*, to set his Hero on an Adventure worthy of his Character. Now, if we will believe our Critics, when he hath strained all his Nerves, throughout a whole Book, to compass these Ends, and got at length to the Conclusion, he wantonly defeats them with one senseless Dash of his Pen; that speaks to this Effect: “ I have laboured, Countrymen, to draw you to
 “ Virtue, and to deter you from Vice, in order to
 “ make every Particular, and Society in general,
 “ flourishing and happy. And doing this by Ex-
 “ ample, I have inculcated the Truths I would
 “ teach you, in the Adventures of your great An-
 “ cestor and Founder; of whom, to do you the
 “ greater Credit, I have made an accomplished
 “ Hero; and have put upon the most divine and ha-
 “ zardous Undertaking, the instituting a Civil
 “ Policy: and, to sanctify his Character, and add
 “ Reverence to his Laws, I have sent him on the
 “ Errand you see here related: But lest the Adven-
 “ ture should do you any Service, or my Hero any
 “ Honour, I must inform you, that all this Talk
 “ of a future State is an idle, childish Notion, and
 “ our Hero’s Part therein only a *Lenten* Dream.
 “ In a Word, all that you have heard, must pass
 “ for an unmeaning Reverie; from which you are
 “ to draw no Consequences, but that the Poet was
 “ in a capricious Humour, and disposed to laugh
 “ at your Superstitions.” At this Rate, I say, is *Virgil* made to speak, in the Interpretation of ancient and modern Critics^r.

^r This Absurdity did not escape the learned *Dacier*, who thus expresses himself in his Note on *porta fugiens eburna*, l. iii. Od. 27. of *Horace*. — Mais ce qu’il y a d’étonnant, c’est que Virgile fait sortir Anchise par la porte d’ivoire, qui est celle des faux songes, par la il détruit toutes les grandes choses qu’il a dites de Rome & d’Auguste.

The Truth is, the Difficulty can never be got over, but on this Supposition, that the Story of the Descent signifies only *an Initiation into the Mysteries*. This will unriddle the Ænigma, and restore the Poet to himself. For if this was *Virgil's* Intention, it is to be presumed, he would give some private Mark to ascertain his Meaning: for which no Place was so proper as the Conclusion. He has therefore, with a Beauty of Invention peculiar to him, made this fine Improvement on *Homer's* Story of the two Gates; who imagined that of Horn for true Visions, and that of Ivory for false. By the first, *Virgil* insinuates the *Reality* of another State; and by the second, the shadowy Representations of it in the Shews of the Mysteries: So that the Visions of *Æneas* were false, not as there was no Ground or Foundation for a future State; but, as those he saw, were not indeed in Hell, but in the Temple of *Ceres*. The Representation being called ΜΥΘΟΣ κατ' ἐξοχήν. And this we propose as the true Meaning of,

“Alera candenti perfecta nitens elephanto:

“Sed falsa ad Cœlum mittunt infomnia Manes.

But though the Dream that issued from it was *unsubstantial*, I make no Question, but the Ivory Gate itself was *Real*. It appears indeed, to be neither more nor less than that sumptuous Gate of the Temple, through which the *Initiated* came out when the *Celebration* was over. This was of an immense Bigness, as appears from the Words of *Apuleius*: *Senex comissimus ducit me protinus ad ipsas fores ÆDIS AMPLISSIMÆ* §. *Strabo* is more particular. *Next* (says he) *is Eleusis, in which is the Temple of the Eleusinian Ceres, and the mystic Cell built by Icætinus* CAPABLE OF HOLDING AS LARGE A NUMBER

§ *Metam.* l. xi.

AS A THEATRE^t. But *Vitruvius's* Description of it is still more curious: “*ELEUSINÆ Cereris & Proserpinæ cellam IMMANI MAGNITUDINE Ictinus Dorico more, sine exterioribus columnis ad laxamentum usus Sacrificiorum, pertexit. Eam autem postea, cum Demetrius Phalereus Athenis rerum potiretur, Philon ante Templum in fronte columnis constitutis Prostylon fecit. Ita aucto Vestibulo laxamentum initiantibus operisque summam adjecit auctoritatem*”. And *Aristides* thought this the most extraordinary Circumstance in the whole Affair. *But this* (says he) *was most wonderful and divine, that this of all the public Assemblies of Greece, was the only one which was comprehended within one Edifice*^w.

Here was Room, we see, and so purposely contrived, for all their Shews and Representations. And now, as we have said so much of these Things, yet occasionally, and by Parts, it will not be amiss, before we conclude, to give a general and concise Idea of them. I take the Substance of the Celebration to be a kind of Drama of the History of *Ceres*, which afforded Opportunity to represent the three Particulars, about which the Mysteries were principally concerned. 1. *The Rise and Establishment of Civil Society.* 2. *The Doctrine of a future State of Rewards and Punishments.* 3. *The Detection of the Error of Polytheism, and the Principle of the Unity.* The Goddess's Legislation in *Sicily* and *Attica*, at both which Places she was said to civilize the savage Manners of the Inhabitants, gave Birth

^t Εἴτ' Ἐλευσὶν πόλιν, ἐν ἣ τὸ τ' Ἀθήνησιν ἱερὸν τ' Ἐλευσινίας καὶ ὁ μυσικὸς σηκὸς, ὃν καλεσκόσασιν Ἰκλίνου, ὅχλον θεάτρεα δέξασθαι διωάμενον, — lib. ix. *Geog.*

^v *De Architect. Præf. ad l. vii.*

^w Τὸ δὲ μάλιστα καὶ θεότατον, μόνον γὰρ ἐν αὐτῷ πανηγύρεων εἶς οἶκος συναδῶν εἶχε. *Eleusin. Orat.*

to the *first*^x: Her Search for her Daughter *Proserpine* in Hell, to the *second*: And her Resentment against the Gods for the Rape, to the *third*^y.

I have now gone through my Explanation of this famous Voyage. And, if I be not greatly deceived, the View, in which I have placed it, not only clears up and explains a Number of Difficulties inexplicable on any other Scheme; but likewise gives an uncommon Grace, and Elegance of Perfection to the whole Poem: For now this famous Episode appears to be entirely of a piece with the main Subject; which is the Erection of a *Civil Policy* and a *Religion*: For Custom had made *Initiation* into the *Mysteries* an indispensable Preparative to that arduous Undertaking.

Thus far then concerning the Legislator's Care to perpetuate the Doctrine of a *future State*: And if we have been longer than ordinary on this Head, our Excuse is, that *this Doctrine* is the main Subject of our general Enquiry. That the Magistrate cultivated the Belief of it, with a more than common

^x That the Establishment of Society, or the Image of savage and polished Manners was represented in the Mysteries, I collect from several Circumstances. *Diodorus* tells us, that in the *Sicilian* Feasts of *Ceres*, which lasted ten Days, was represented the ancient manner of living, before Men had learned the Use and Culture of Bread Corn. Τῆς δὲ Δήμητρος τὴν καὶ ὅν τ' εὐσείας παρέκερναν, ἐν ᾧ τὸ δέχλυν ὁ πόρος τ' εὖ σίτη λαμβάνει. Ἐπὶ δὲ ἡμέρας ἰσπανήσιν ἀγασιν ἐπώνυμον τὸ δεῖν ταύτης, τῇ τε λαμπρότητι τὸ ὠδασκωδῆς μεγαλοπρεπεστάτῳ, καὶ τῇ ΔΙΑΣΚΕΥῃ ΜΙΜΟΥΜΕΝΟΙ ΤΟΝ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΝ ΒΙΟΝ. P. 200. Steph. Ed. And *Livy*, in the Passage quoted above from the xxxixth Book of his History says, these Rites tended ad animorum CORPORUMQUE CULTUM: By which Words he must needs mean that the *Advantages of Civil Life*, as well as of Religion were recommended in them.

^y This Circumstance *Apollodorus* informs us of; his Words are these: — Μαθήσα δὲ παρ' ἐρμηνέων, ὅτι Πλάτων αὐτῷ ἡρπασεν, ΟΡΓΙΖΟΜΕΝΗ ΘΕΟΙΣ, ΑΠΕΛΙΠΕΝ ΟΥΡΑΝΟΝ, εἰκαδὲς δὲ γυναικί, ἤκεν εἰς Ἑλευσῖνα. *Bibl.* l. i. c. 5.

Labour, is evident from this very extraordinary Circumstance. — There are several Savage Nations, discovered by modern Travellers, which, in the Revolutions and Distractions of Government having been forced to remove their Seats, are, it is probable, fallen from a civilized, to a barbarous State of Life. These are found to be without any Knowledge of a God, or Appearance of Religion: And yet, which is wonderful, they still entertain the Belief and Expectation of *a future State*. A Miracle to be accounted for no other Way, than by what has been said above of the Legislator's principal Concern for the Support of this Doctrine; and of the deep Root, which, by it's agreeable Nature, it takes in the Mind, whenever it is once received. So that though, as we have observed, *no Religion ever existed without the Doctrine of a future State, yet the Doctrine of a future State has, it seems, existed without a Religion.*

S E C T. V.

HITHERTO we have shewn the Magistrate's Care in propagating the Belief of a God, and of his Providence over human Affairs; and of the Manner in which it is chiefly dispensed, namely, by Rewards and Punishments in *a future State*. These Things make up the Essence of Religion, and compose the Body of it.

His next Care was for the better Support of *Religion* so composed. And this was done by uniting it to the *State*, taking it under the civil Protection, and giving it the Rights and Privileges of an *Establishment*. Accordingly, we find all States and People in the ancient World, had an ESTABLISHED RELIGION; which was under the more immediate Protection of the Civil Magistrate, in
Contra-

Contradistinction to those that were only TOLERATED.

How close these two Interests were united in the *Egyptian* Policy, is notorious to all acquainted with Antiquity. Nor were the politest free States less solicitous for the common Interests of the two Societies, than that sage and powerful Monarchy, the Nurse of Arts and Virtue; as we shall see hereafter in the Conduct both of *Rome* and *Athens*, for the Support and Preservation of the *established* Worship.

But an *established Religion* is the universal Voice of Nature: and not confined to certain Ages, People, or Religions. That great Voyager and sensible Observer of Men and Manners, *J. Baptiste Tavernier*, speaking of the Kingdom of *Tunquin*, thus delivers himself: “ I come now to the political Description of this Kingdom, under which I comprehend the Religion, which is, *almost every where in concert with the Civil Government, for the mutual Support of each other* ². ”

That the Magistrate *established* Religion, united it to the State, and took it into his immediate Protection for the sake of Civil Society, cannot be questioned; the Advantages to Government being so apparent.

But the Necessity of this Union, for procuring those Advantages, as likewise the Number and Extent of them, are not so easily understood. Nor indeed can they be understood without a perfect Knowledge of the Nature of an *established Religion*, and of those Principles of Equity, on which it ariseth.

² Je viens à la Description politique de ce Royaume, dans laquelle je comprends la Religion, qui est *presque en tous lieux de concert avec le Gouvernement Civil pour l'appuy reciproque de l'un & de l'autre*. Relation nouvelle du Royaume de Tunquin, c. x. à la fin.

But as this Master-piece of human Policy hath been of late, though but of late, called in Question after having from the first Institution of Society, quite down to the present Age, been universally practised by the Magistrate, and as universally approved by Philosophers and Divines; and as our Question is the Conduct of Lawgivers, and legitimate Magistrates, whose Institutions are to be defended on the Rules of Equity and Justice; not of Tyrants, who set themselves above both, it will not be improper to examine this Matter to the Bottom; especially as the Enquiry is so necessary to a thorough Knowledge of the Civil Advantages, resulting from an *established Religion*.

We must at present then, lay aside our Ideas of the ancient Modes of Civil and Religious Societies, and search what they are, in themselves, by Nature; and thence erect the Institution in question.

We shall do this in as few Words as possible; and refer those, who desire a fuller Account of this Matter, to a Discourse published separately upon it, intituled, *The Alliance between Church and State*.

In the Beginning of the first Book, where we speak of the Origin of Civil Society, the Reader may remember we have shewn the natural Deficiency of its Plan; and how the Influence and Sanction of *Religion* only can supply that Defect.

Religion then being proved necessary to Society, that it should be so used and applied, in the best way, and to most Advantage, needs no Proof. For it is as instinctive in our Nature to improve a Good, as to investigate and pursue it. And with regard to the Improvement of this particular Good, there is special Reason why it should be studied. For the Experience of every Place and Age informs us, that the Coactivity of *Civil Laws* and *Religion*, is little enough to keep Men from running into Confusion.

But

But this Improvement is the Effect of Art and Contrivance. For all natural Good, every thing constitutionally beneficial to Man, needs Man's Industry to make it better. We receive it all at the provident Hand of Heaven, rather with a Capacity of being applied to our Use, than immediately fit for our Service. We receive it indeed, in full Measure, but rude and unprepared.

Now, concerning this technical Improvement of moral Good, it is in artificial Bodies as in natural. *Two* may be so essentially constituted, as to be greatly able to adorn and strengthen each other: But then, as in the one Case, a mere juxtaposition of the Parts is not sufficient; so neither is it in the other: Some Union, some Coalition, some artful Insertion into each other will be necessary.

But then again, as in natural Bodies the Artist knows not how to set about the proper Operation, till he hath acquired a reasonable Knowledge of the Nature of those Bodies, which are the Subject of his Skill; so neither can we know in what manner Religion may be best applied to the Service of the State, till we have learned the real and essential Natures both of a *State* and of a *Religion*. The *obvious* Qualities of both sufficiently shew that they must needs have a good Effect on each other, when properly applied; as our Artist, by his Knowledge of the obvious Qualities of two natural Bodies, we suppose, discerns thus much; though he hath not yet got sufficient Acquaintance with their Nature to make a right Application.

It behooves us therefore to gain a proper Knowledge of the Nature both of a *Civil* and of a *Religious* Society.

I. To begin with *Civil Society*: It was instituted either with the Purpose of attaining all the Good of every kind, it was even accidentally capable

ble of producing; or only of some certain Good, aimed at by the Institutors, without any Regard had to other in their Scheme. To suppose its End the vague Purpose of acquiring even all possible accidental Good, is, in Politics, the highest Solecism imaginable; as hath been sufficiently proved by the Writers on this Question^a. And how untrue in Fact, may be clearly gathered from what hath been said in the Beginning, of the Origin of Society. Civil Society then, I suppose, will be allowed to have been instituted for the Attainment of some determined End or Ends. If so; then for some, without Consideration had to others; which again infers the Necessity of distinguishing this End from others. But the Distinction can arise only from the different Properties of the Things pretending. But again, amongst all those Things, which are apt to obtrude, or have in fact, obtruded themselves on Men, as the Ends of Civil Society, there is but one Difference in their Properties, as Ends, which is this: *That one of these is attainable by Civil Society only, and all the rest are, with equal Ease, attainable without it.* The thing then with the first mentioned Property must needs be that genuine precise End of *Civil Society*. And this is no other than the SECURITY OF THE TEMPORAL LIBERTY AND PROPERTY OF MAN. For this End, as we have shewn, Civil Society was invented; and *this* Civil Society alone is able to procure. Its great, but spurious Rival, the SALVATION OF SOULS, or the Security of Man's future Happiness, is therefore excluded from this Part of the Division. For this not depending on outward Accidents, or on the Will or Power of another, as the Body and Goods do, may be as well attained

^a See *Locke's Defences of his Letters on Toleration.*

in a State of Nature, as in Civil Society; and therefore, on the Principles here delivered, cannot be one of the Causes of the Institution of Civil Society; nor consequently one of the Ends thereof. But if so, the Promotion of it comes not within the peculiar Province of the Magistrate.

II. *Secondly*, as to Religious Society, or a Church. This being instituted to preserve Purity of Faith and Worship, its ultimate End is the SALVATION OF SOULS: From whence it follows,

I. That *the religious Society must needs be SOVEREIGN, and INDEPENDENT ON THE CIVIL.* Natural Dependency of one Society on another, must arise either from the *Law of Nature* or of *Nations*. Dependency by the *Law of Nature*, is from *Essence* or *Generation*. Dependency from *Essence* here can be none. For this kind of Dependency being a Mode of natural Union and Coalition; and Coalition being only where there is an Agreement in *eodem tertio*; and there being no such Agreement between two Societies essentially different, as these are, there can possibly be no Dependency. Dependency from *Generation* is where one Society springs up from another; as Corporations, Colleges, Companies, and Chambers in a City. These, as well by the Conformity of their Ends and Means, as by their Charters of Incorporation, betray their Original and Dependency. But *Religious Society*, by Ends and Means quite different, gives internal Proof of its not arising from the State; and by external, it appears^b that it existed before the State had any Being. Again, no Dependency can arise from the *Law of Nations*, or the *Civil Law*. Dependency by this Law is where one and the same People, composing two different Societies, the *Imperium* of the one clashes with the *Imperium* of the other. For

^b See Book III. Sect. 6.

in such Case, the lesser Society becomes by that Law dependent on the greater, because the not being so, would make that great Absurdity in Politics, called *Imperium in Imperio*. But now *Civil* and *Religious* Society, having Ends and Means entirely different, and the Means of *Civil* Society being coercive Power, which Power therefore the *Religious* consequently hath not; it follows, that the Administration of each Society is exercised in so remote Spheres, that they can never possibly meet to clash. And those Societies which never clash, Necessity of State can never bring into Dependency on one another.

2. It follows, *That this independent Religious Society hath not, in and of itself, any coercive Power of the Civil Kind*: Its inherent Authority and Powers being in their Nature and Use entirely different from those of the State. For if, as hath been proved, *Civil Society* was instituted for the Attainment of one Species of Good, all other Good requisite to human Happiness, being to be attained without *that* Society; and that *Civil Society* attains the Good, for which it was instituted, by the *sole* Means of coercive Power; then it follows, that the Good, which any other kind of Society seeks, may be attained without that Power; consequently, coercive Power is unnecessary to a *Religious Society*. But that Means, which is *unnecessary* for the Attainment of any End, is likewise *unfit* in all Cases, but in that, where such Means is rendered unnecessary by the Use of other Means of the same Kind or Species. But *Religious Society* attains its End by Means of a different Kind. Again, Ends, in their Nature different, can never be attained by one and the same Means. Thus in the Case before us: Coercive Power can only influence to outward Practice; by outward Practice only, is the Good
which

which *Civil Society* aims at, immediately effected; therefore is coercive Power peculiarly fit for *Civil Society*. But the Good which *Religious Society* aims at, cannot be effected by outward Practice; therefore coercive Power is altogether *unfit* for *that Society*.

Having thus by a diligent Enquiry found,

I. First, *That the Care of the Civil Society extends only to the Body, and its Concerns; and the Care of the Religious Society only to the Soul*: it necessarily follows, that the *Magistrate*, if he will improve this natural Influence of Religion by human Art and Contrivance, must seek some UNION or ALLIANCE with the *Church*. For his Office not extending to the *Care of Souls*, he hath not, in himself, Power to enforce the Influence of Religion: and the *Church's* Province not extending to the *Body*, and consequently without coercive Power; she has not, in herself alone, a Power of applying that Influence to *Civil Purposes*. The Consequence is, that their joint Powers must be employed thus to enforce and apply the Influence of *Religion*. But they can never act conjointly but in *Union* and *Alliance*.

II. Secondly, having found *that each Society is Sovereign, and independent on the other*, it as necessarily follows, that such *Union* can be produced only by FREE CONVENTION AND MUTUAL COMPACT: because, whatever is Sovereign and Independent, can be brought to no Act without its own Consent: but nothing can give Birth to a *free Convention*, but a Sense of mutual Wants, that may be supplied; or a View of mutual Benefits, that may be gained by it.

Such then is the Nature of that *Union* which produceth a RELIGION BY LAW ESTABLISHED: and which is, indeed, no other than a *public League or Alliance for mutual Support and Defence*.

For the *State*, not having the *Care of Souls*, cannot itself inforce the Influence of *Religion*; and therefore seeks the concurring Aid of the *Church*: And the *Church* having no *coactive Power*, the Consequence of its Cares not extending to *Bodies*, as naturally flies for Protection to the *State*: this being of that Kind of *Alliance* which *Grotius* calls FOEDUS INÆQUALE — “*Inæquale foedus* (says he) “*hic intelligo quod ex ipsa vi pactionis manentem* “*prælationem* quandam alteri donat: hoc est, ubi “*quis tenetur alterius imperium ac majestatem* “*conservare UT POTENTIORI PLUS HONORIS,* “*INFIRMIORI PLUS AUXILII DEFERATUR*”^c.

An *Alliance*, then, by *free Convention*, being in its Nature such that each Party must have its Motives for compacting; our next Enquiry will be,

I. What those Motives were, which the State had of *seeking*, and the Church of *accepting* the Offers of an Union: And,

II. The *mutual Benefits* and Advantages thereby gained.

The Motives the State had to seek the *Alliance*, were of three Kinds:

I. To preserve the *Essence* and Purity of Religion.

II. To improve its Usefulness, and apply its Utility in the most effectual Manner.

III. To prevent the Mischief that, in its natural independent State, it might occasion to Society.

I. The State was induced to seek it, 1. *As the necessary Means of preserving the Being of Religion*. For though (as we have shewn in the *Treatise of the Alliance*^d) Religion constitutes a Society; and tho’ this Society will indeed, for some Time, support the Existence of Religion, which, without

^c *De Jure Bell. & Pac.* l. 1. c. 3. § 21.

^d Book I. Sect 5.

it, would soon vanish from amongst Men; yet, if we consider that this Society is made up of the same Individuals which compose the Civil, and destitute likewise of all coactive Power, we must needs see, that such a Society, abandoned to its own Fortune, without Support or Protection, would in no long Time be swallowed up and lost. Of this Opinion was a very able Writer, whose Knowledge of human Nature will not be disputed: *Were it not*, says he, *for that Sense of Virtue, which is principally preserved, so far as it is preserved, BY NATIONAL FORMS AND HABITS OF RELIGION, Men would soon lose it all, run wild, prey upon one another, and do what else the worst of Savages do^e.*

2. But of whatsoever Use an *Alliance* may be thought, for preserving the *Being* of Religion, the *Necessity of it for preserving its Purity*, is most evident: For if *Truth*, and *public Utility* coincide, the nearer any Religion approaches to the Truth of Things, the fitter is that Religion for serving the State. That they do coincide, may be demonstrated on any Principles but the Atheistic; and therefore we think it needless, in this Place, to draw out the Proof in Form^f: Let us then consider the Danger Religion runs of deviating from Truth, when left in its natural State to itself. In those Circumstances, the Men of highest Credit, are such as are famed for greatest Sanctity. This *Sanctity* hath been generally understood to be then most perfect, when most *estranged from the World*, and all its Habitudes and Relations. But this being to be acquired only by Secession and Retirement from human Affairs; and that Secession rendering Man ignorant of Civil Society,

^e Wollaston's *Religion of Nature delineated*, pag. 124. Quarto Edit. 1725.

^f See Book III. Sect. 6.

and of its Rights and Interests; we must needs conclude, that Religion under such Directors and Reformers, will deviate from Truth; and consequently from a Capacity, in Proportion, of serving Civil Society. I wish I could not say we have too much Fact to support this Speculation. The Truth is, we have seen, and yet do see Religious Societies, *some* grown up, and continuing unsupported by, and *ununited* with the State; *others*, that, when supported and *united*, have by strange Arts brought the State into Subjection, and become its Tyrants and Usurpers; and thereby defeated all the Good that can arise from this Alliance: Such Societies, I say, we have seen, whose Religious Doctrines are so little serviceable to Civil Society, that they can prosper only on the Ruin and Destruction of it. Such are those which teach *the Sanctity of Celibacy and Ascetecism, the Sinfulness of defensive War, of capital Punishments, and even of Civil Magistracy itself.*

On the other Hand, when Religion is in *Alliance* with the State, as it then comes under the Magistrate's Direction, those holy Leaders having now neither Credit nor Power to do Mischief, its Purity must needs be reasonably well supported and preserved: For Truth and publick Utility coinciding, the Civil Magistrate, as such, will see it for his Interest to seek after and promote Truth in Religion: and by means of public Utility, which his Office enables him so well to understand, he will never be at a Loss to know where such Truth is to be found: So that it is impossible, under this Civil Influence, for Religion ever to deviate far from Truth; always supposing (for on such a Supposition this whole Theory proceeds) a *legitimate* Government, or Civil Policy, established on the Principles of the natural Rights and Liberties

ties of Mankind: For an unequal and unjust Government, which seeks its own, not public Utility, will always have occasion for Error, and so must corrupt Religion to serve its own wrong Interests.

II. *Secondly*, the State was induced to seek this Alliance, *as the necessary Means to improve the Usefulness, and to apply the Influence of Religion in the best Manner.* And this it does several Ways.

I. *By bestowing additional Reverence and Veneration on the Person of the Civil Magistrate, and on the Laws of the State.* For, in this Alliance, where the Religious Society is taken under the Protection of the State, the supreme Magistrate, as will be shewn hereafter, is acknowledged *Head of the Religion.* Now nothing can be imagined of greater Efficacy for securing the Obedience of the People. Those two consummate Masters in Politics, *Aristotle* and *Machiavel*, as we have seen, thought it of so great, as to be sufficient to gain Reverence and Security to a Tyrant. What then must we suppose its Efficacy on a legitimate Magistrate? The same Veneration will extend itself over the *Laws* likewise: For while some of them are employed by the State for the *Support of the Church*, and others *lent* to the Church to be employed in the *State's Service*, and all of them enacted by a *Legislature, in which Churchmen have a considerable Share*, (all these Things being amongst the Conditions of *Alliance*) Laws, under such Direction, must needs be obeyed with greatest Reverence.

2. *By lending to the Church a coercive Power.* — It may be remembered, that, in speaking of the innate Defects in the Plan of Civil Society, we observed, that there were several Sorts of Duties which Civil Laws could not enforce; such as the Duties of IMPERFECT OBLIGATION, which a Religious Society,

ciety, when endowed with *coactive Power* to invigorate the Influence of Religion, is capable of exacting: and such likewise of the Duties of PERFECT OBLIGATION, whose Breach is owing to the Intemperance of the natural Passions; the severe Prohibition of which threatens greater and more enormous Evils: For while these violent Passions overflow, the stopping them in one Place is causing them to break out with greater Violence in another. As the rigorous Punishment of Fornication has been generally seen to give Birth to unnatural Lusts. The effectual Correction therefore of such Evils must be begun by moderating and subduing the Passions themselves. But *this*, Civil Laws are not understood to prescribe; as *punishing* those Passions only when they proceed to act, and not *rewarding* the Attempts to subdue them: It must be a Tribunal regarding irregular Intentions as criminal, which can do this; and *that* is no other than the Tribunal of Religion. When this is once done, a coactive Power of the Civil Kind may have a good Effect; but not till then: And who so fit to apply this coactive Power, in such Cases, as that Society, which prepared the Subject for its due Reception and Application? Again, we have observed[§], that the State punishes Deviations from the Rule of Right as *Crimes* only, and not as *such* Deviations, or as *Sins*; and, on that first Idea, proportions its Punishments: By which Means some very enormous Deviations from the Rule of Right, which do not immediately affect Civil Society, and so are not considered as *Crimes*, are overlooked by the Civil Tribunal: Yet these, *mediately*, being highly pernicious to the State, it is for its Interests that they should be brought before

§ In *The Alliance*, Book I. § 4.

some capable Tribunal. Hence may be deduced the true and only End and Use of SPIRITUAL COURTS. A Church Tribunal then, with coactive Power, being necessary in all these Cases; and a Religious Society having, in itself, no such Power, it must be borrowed from the State: But a State cannot lend it, without great Danger to itself, but on the Terms of an Alliance; a State therefore will be induced to seek this Alliance, in order to improve the natural Efficacy of Religion.

3. By conferring on the State the Application of the Efficacy of Religion, and by putting it under the Magistrate's Direction. — There are peculiar Junctures when the Influence of Religion is more than ordinarily serviceable to the State: and these the Civil Magistrate only knows. Now while a Church is in its natural State of Independency, it is not in his Power to improve those Conjunctions to the Advantage of the State, by a proper Application of Religion: But when the Alliance is made, and consequently the Church under his Direction, he has then Authority to prescribe such public Exercises of Religion, and in such a Manner as he finds the Exigencies of State require ^h.

4. By engaging the Church to apply its utmost Endeavours in the Service of the State. For an Alliance laying an Obligation on the State to protect and defend the Church, and to provide a settled Maintenance for its Ministers, such Benefits must needs produce the highest Love and Esteem for the Benefactor: which will be returned, out of Motives both of Gratitude and Interest, in the most zealous Labours for the State's Service.

^h See the scandalous Squabbles between the Civil Magistrate and the Church, concerning the Exercise of this Power, in the Histories of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland.

III. Lastly, *the State was induced to seek this Alliance, as the only Means of preventing the Mischiefs, which, in its natural independent Condition, it might occasion to Civil Society.* For, in this natural Independency, the Church having, in itself, a Power of assembling for religious Worship, factious Men may commodiously, under that Cover, hatch and carry on Cabals and Plots against the Peace of Civil Society: And the Influence popular and leading Men gain over the Consciences of such Assemblies, by means of the Frequency of public Harangues, may easily ripen these Contrivances into Act, when strengthened with the specious Pretext of Religion: All which Evils are entirely prevented by this *Alliance*. For then, the Civil Magistrate being become Protector of the Church, and, consequently, supreme Head and Director of it, the Ministry is in his Power; that mutual Dependency, between the Clergy and People, being, by the Means of a settled Revenue, quite broken and destroyed. He admits and excludes to the *Exercise* of their Function, as he sees fit; and grants it to none, but such as give a previous Security for their Allegiance to him: By which Means, all that Power and Influence, which the Ministers and Leaders in a Church had over it before the Alliance, *as the Protectors of Religion*, is now drawn off from them, and placed solely in the Civil Magistrate.

Another Mischief there is still more certain and fatal, whenever above one Religion is found in a State, which an *Alliance* only can prevent: For every Sect or Church, in these later Ages, thinking itself alone the *true*, or at least the *most perfect*, is naturally pushed on to advance its own Scheme on the Ruin of the rest: So that, if this succeeds not by *Argument*, they are apt to have recourse to *Civil Power*; which is done by introducing

ducing a Party into the *Public Administration*: And we find, they have been but too successful in the Art of making the State believe, that *its* Interests are much concerned in these religious Differences. Into what frequent and strong Convulsions these Contentions must throw the State, may be easily apprehended. Now, to these Mischiefs, an *Alliance* is the most effectual Remedy; by *establisbing one Church*, and giving a *full Toleration to the rest*; but *excluding their Members from the public Administration*; from the Admission into which these Disorders arise.

Having now shewn the principal Motives that engaged the State to *seek an Alliance* with the Church,

We come, in the next Place, to consider the Motives the Church had to *accept* of it. For this being, as we observed, a FREE CONVENTION, unless the Church, as well as State, had its Views of Advantage, no *Alliance* could possibly have been formed. To discover these Motives, we must recollect what hath been said of the Nature and End of a *Religious Society*: For the Advantage adapted to that Nature and End, can only be her legitimate View; consequently this Advantage can be no other than SECURITY FROM ALL EXTERIOR VIOLENCE. The State indeed could not justly offer any to it, had this *Alliance never* been made: but this is no Reason why the Church should not think it for its Interest to secure this its natural Right by *Compact*; any more than that one State should not bind another, in the same Manner, not to do it Violence, though *that other* was under prior Obligations, by the Law of Nature and Nations, to that Contenance.

But by this *Alliance* between the two Societies, the State does more: It not only promises not to do

do the *Church* confederated any Injury, itself, but to take Care that it receives none from others. How one Religious Society may be injuriously affected by another, we have just before shewn; and how great those Injuries may prove, will be shewn hereafter. It must needs then be the first Care of a Church, and a *reasonable Care*, to preserve itself, by all lawful Ways, from outward Violence. A State then, as hath been said, to induce the Church to accept its Offers of *Alliance*, must propose some Benefit to her by it: And because this is the only legitimate Benefit the Church can receive, it must propose *this*: which, therefore, being considerable, will be the Church's *Motive for Alliance*.

There are only two other Views that can be thought *Motives*: The one, *to engage the State to propagate the established Religion by Civil Force*; and the other, *to bestow Honours, Riches, and Power upon it*. Now, on recurring to the Nature and End of a Church and State, the *first* Motive will be found unjust; and the *second* impertinent. It is *unjust* in the Church to require the first Engagement; because the performing it would be violating the natural Right every Man hath of worshipping God according to his own Conscience. It is *unjust* in the State to engage in it; because, as we have shewn, its Jurisdiction extends not to Opinions. It is *impertinent* in a Church to aim at Riches, Honours, Powers, &c. because these are things from which it cannot have any Benefit as a Church; for they have no natural Tendency to promote the ultimate End of this Society, *Salvation of Souls*; nor the immediate End, *Purity of Worship*. We conclude therefore, that the only legitimate Motive she could have, was *Security and Protection from outward Violence*.

On

On these mutual Motives then was formed this free Alliance; which gave Birth to a CHURCH BY LAW ESTABLISHED.

Now as from the Nature of the two Societies we discovered what only kind of Union they could enter into; so from thence, together with the Motives they had in uniting, may be deduced, by necessary Consequence, the reciprocal TERMS and Conditions of that Union.

From the Motives thereto it appears, that the great *Preliminary or Fundamental Article* of the *Alliance* is, that THE CHURCH SHALL APPLY ITS UTMOST INFLUENCE IN THE SERVICE OF THE STATE; and that THE STATE SHALL SUPPORT AND PROTECT THE CHURCH.

But in order to the Performance of this Agreement, there must necessarily be a *mutual Communication of their respective Powers*. For the Province of each Society being naturally distinct and different, each can have to do in the other's but by mutual Concession.

But again, these Societies being likewise as naturally independent one on the other, a mutual Concession cannot be safely made, without one of them, at the same time, giving up to the other, its Right of Independency: From whence arises what *Grotius*, we see, calls *MANENS PRÆLATIO*; which, in his *Fœdus inæquale*, the more powerful Society hath over the less.

Now from these two Conclusions, which spring necessarily from *the great fundamental Article of Union*, we consequentially deduce all the Terms, Conditions, mutual Grants, and Concessions, which complete this *Alliance*.

For from this Obligation on the Church *to apply its Influence in the Service of the State*, proceed
a SETTLED MAINTENANCE FOR THE MINISTERS

STERS OF RELIGION; and an ECCLESIASTICAL JURISDICTION with *coactive* Power; which things introduce again, on the other side, the DEPENDENCY OF THE CLERGY ON THE STATE: And from the State's Obligation *to support and protect the Church*, proceeds the ECCLESIASTICAL SUPREMACY OF THE CIVIL MAGISTRATE; which again introduces, on the other hand, the Right of CHURCHMEN TO PARTAKE OF THE LEGISLATURE.

Thus are all these mutual Rights and Privileges closely interwoven and connected with each other, by a necessary reciprocal Dependency.

But to be more particular in the Grounds and Reasons of each Grant and Privilege, we will now in a different and more commodious Order for this Purpose, examine,

I. What the Church receives from the State.

II. What it gives to it.

Which will present us with *a new View of the two Societies, as they appear under an Establishment*; and leave nothing wanting to enable us to judge throughly of their Natures.

I. What the Church *receives* from the State by this *Alliance*, is,

1. First, *A public and settled Endowment for the Clergy*. The Reasons of it are, 1. To render the Religious Society more firm and durable. 2. To invite and encourage the Clergy's best Service to the State, in rendering those committed to their Care, virtuous. But 3. and principally, in order to destroy that mutual Dependency between the Clergy and People, which arises from the former's being maintained by the voluntary Contribution of the latter, the only Maintenance the Clergy could have, before the two Societies were allied; and which Dependence we have shewn to be productive of

of great Mischiefs to the State. Add to all this, that as the Clergy are now under the Magistrate's Direction, and consequently are become a public Order in the State, it is but fit and decent, that the State should provide them with a public Maintenance.

2. *A Place in the Legislature for her Representatives the Clergy.* For, as it necessarily follows, as we shall see presently, from that *fundamental Article of Alliance* of the State's supporting and protecting the Church, that the Church must, in return, give up its *Independency to the State*, whereby the State becomes empowered to determine in all Church Matters, so far as relates to it as a Society; as this, I say, necessarily follows, the Church must needs have its Representatives in the Court of Legislature, to prevent that Power, which the State receives in Return for the Protection it affords, from being perverted to the Church's Injury: For the Church's giving up its *Independency*, without reserving a Right of Representation in the Legislature, would be making itself, instead of a *Subject*, a *Slave* to the State. Besides, without these Representatives no Laws could be made in the Court of Legislature concerning the Church: Because no free Man, or Body, can be bound by Laws, to which they have not given their Consent, either in Person, or by Representative. So that, as the Church cannot *justly*, we may presume she did not *willingly*, when she entered into *Alliance*, give up her *Independency* without reserving this Privilege to herself.

3. *An Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, enforced by Civil coercive Power, FOR THE REFORMATION OF MANNERS.* For it being one of the *preliminary Articles* of this *Alliance*, that the Church should apply all its Influence in the Service of the State, and
its

its Influence being best, and most efficaciously applied this Way ; there was a Necessity for the Erection of such a Court. For it has been shewn above, that there are a numerous Set of Duties, both of *perfect* and *imperfect* Obligation, which human Laws could not reach ; which yet the Good of Civil Society requires should be enforced ; and which an Ecclesiastical Tribunal, intrusted with coactive Power, can alone enforce. And indeed, the supplying those Defects, which these Courts do supply, was the *original and fundamental* Motive of the State's seeking the *Alliance*. Farther, it appears very fit the Church should be strengthened with this Authority, that it may not be left contemptibly naked, after having given up its Supremacy to the State..

II. Let us now see what the Church *gives* to the State. It is, in a word, this : *The resigning up her Supremacy ; and making the Civil Magistrate her Head, without whose Approbation and Allowance she can direct, order, and decree nothing.* For the State having, by this *Alliance*, undertaken the Protection of the Church, and Protection not being to be afforded to any Person or Body, without Power over that Person or Body in the Person or Body protecting ; it necessarily follows that the *Civil Magistrate must be supreme.* Besides, when the State, by this Convention, covenanted to afford the Church its Protection, that Covenant was made to a particular Church of one Denomination, of such determined Doctrine and Discipline. But now, what might be advantageous to the State, in protecting such a Church, might be disadvantageous to it, in protecting one of a different Doctrine and Discipline : Therefore, when Protection is afforded, it must be at the same time provided, that no Alteration be made in it, without the State's Allowance

Allowance. Farther, the State having *endowed its Clergy*, and bestowed upon them a *Jurisdiction with coercive Power*, these Privileges might be perverted to the infinite Damage of the State, as making an *Imperium in Imperio*, had not the Civil Magistrate, in Return, the *Supremacy of the Church*. Therefore the Necessity of the thing invests him with this Title.

Thus have we shewn the mutual Privileges *given and received* by Church and State, in entering into this famous Convention: The Aim of the State being, agreeably to its Nature, *Utility*; and the Aim of the Church, agreeably to her's, *Truth*. From whence we may observe, that as they all took their Rise, by necessary Consequence, from the fundamental Article of the Convention, which was, *that the Church should serve the State, and the State protect the Church*; so they receive all possible Addition of Strength from their mutual Dependency on one another. This we have reason to desire may be understood as a certain Mark that our *Plan of Alliance* is no precarious arbitrary Hypothesis, but a *Theory*, founded in Reason, and the invariable Nature of Things. For having from the real Essence of the two Societies collected the *Necessity* of an Alliance, and the *Freedom* of it; from the *Necessity*, we have fairly introduced it; and from its End and *Freedom*, consequentially established every mutual Term and Condition of it. So that now if the Reader should ask, *where this Charter or Treaty of Convention for the Union of the two Societies, on the Terms here delivered, is to be met with*; we are enabled to answer him. We say, it may be found in the same Archive with the famous ORIGINAL COMPACT between Magistrate and People, so much insisted on in the Vindication

of the *common Rights of Subjects*. Now, when a Sight of this *Compact* is required of the Defenders of Civil Liberty, they hold it sufficient to say, that it is enough to all the Purposes of Fact and Right, that such *original Compact* is the only legitimate Foundation of Civil Society: That if there were no such thing *formally* executed, there was *virtually*: That all Differences between Magistrate and People, ought to be regulated on the Supposition of such a *Compact*; and all Government reduced to the Principles therein laid down: For, that the Happiness, of which Civil Society is productive, can only be attained by it when formed on those Principles. Now something like this we say of our ALLIANCE BETWEEN CHURCH AND STATE.

Hitherto we have considered this *Alliance* under its most simple Form; *i. e.* where there is but *one* Religion in the State: But it may so happen, that, either at the Time of Convention, or afterwards, there may be *more than one*.

I. If there be *more than one at the Time of Convention*, the *Alliance* is made by the State with the *largest* of the Religious Societies. It is *fit* it should be so, because the larger the Society is, where there is an Equality in other Points, the better enabled it will be to answer the Ends of the *Alliance*; as having the greatest Number under its Influence. It is *scarce possible* it should be otherwise; because the two Societies being composed of the same Individuals, the greatly prevailing Religion must have a Majority of its Members in the Assemblies of State; who will naturally prefer their own Religion to all others. With *this* is the *Alliance* made, and a full *Toleration* given to all the rest; yet under the Restriction of a TEST LAW,
to

to keep them from injuring that which is *established*.

2. If these different Religions arise *after* the Alliance hath been formed, whenever they become considerable, *then* is a *Test Law* necessary, for the Security of the *established Church*. For when there are Diversities of Religion in a State, each of which thinks itself the only true, or at least the most pure, every one aims at advancing itself on the Ruins of the rest; and, when Reason fails, will attempt to do it by the Civil Aid: which can be only brought about by the Attempter's getting into the public Administration. But when it happens that one of these Religions is the *established*, and all the rest under a *Toleration*; then it is that these latter, still more inflamed and stimulated with Envy at the Advantages the established Church enjoys, act in concert, and proceed with joint Attacks to disturb its Quiet. In this imminent Danger the established Church demands the Aid of the State, which gives her a *Test Law* for her Security.

Thus the TEST LAW took its birth, whether *at* or *after* the Time of the *Alliance*. That the State is under the highest Obligations of Justice and Necessity to provide this Security, we shall shew.

1. By that *Alliance*, the State promised to protect the Church from all Injuries. It is evident, that an Attempt in the Members of any other Church to get into the Administration, in order to deprive the *established Church* of the Rights it enjoys, if it succeeds, is an Injury: And we have shewn that, where there are Diversities of Religions, this Attempt will be always making. If therefore the State will perform its Promise of Protection, it must defeat that Attempt: But there is no other

Way of defeating it, than by hindering its Enemies from entering into the Administration: but they can be hindered only by a *Test Law*.

2. Farther, this Promise of Protection becomes absolutely indispensable. For Protection was not only made, by the Church, a Condition of *Alliance* but the *sole* Condition of it: For we have shewn, that all other Benefits and Advantages are foreign to a Church, as such, and improper for it. Now the not performing the *sole Condition* of a Convention, virtually breaks and dissolves it: And this *sole* Condition can be neither *unnecessary*, nor *unjust*: Not *unnecessary*; because a free Convention must have *mutual* Conditions; and this being the *sole* Condition of one Party, it must needs be *necessary*: Not *unjust*; because having proved the Convention itself to be founded on the Laws of Nature and Nations, in which Convention mutual Conditions are necessary, and that no other Conditions suit the Nature of a Church, it follows that this must be *just*. If it be urged that debarring good Subjects of the *Profits* and *Honours*, in the Disposal of the Magistrate, is *unjust*, I reply, that this Assertion, tho' every where taken for granted, is false; it being founded on the Principle, that *Reward is one of the Sanctions of Civil Laws*, which I have shewn to be a Mistakeⁱ, and that all that a Member of Society can *claim*, for the Discharge of his Duty, is *Protection*. So that, farther Reward than this no Subject having a *Right* to, all Places of Honour and Profit are in the arbitrary Disposal of the Magistrate.

3. But still farther: The State's Obligation to perform its Promise, is vastly enforced by this additional Consideration. The Church, in order to

ⁱ See Book I. Sect. 2.

enable the State to perform this *sole Condition* of Protection, consented to the giving up to it her *Independency* and *Supremacy*: Whence it follows, that, whenever the Enemies of the *established* Church get into the Magistrature, to which, as we have said, the Supremacy of the Church is transferred by the *Alliance*, she becomes a Prey to them, and lies entirely at their Mercy; being now, by the Loss of her Supremacy, in no Condition of Defence, as she was in her natural State, unprotected and independent: So that the not securing her by a *Test Law*, is betraying her, and delivering her up bound to her Enemies.

4. But lastly, had no Promise of Protection been made to the Church, yet the State for its own Security, would have lain under the most indispensable Necessity of providing a *Test Law*, when it had made an Alliance. It has been observed, that wherever there are Diversities of Religions, each Sect, believing its own the truest, strives to advance itself on the Ruins of the rest. If this doth not succeed by dint of Argument, the Partisans are very apt to have recourse to the coercive Power of the State: which is done by introducing a Party into the public Administration. And they have always had Art and Address enough to make the State believe that its Interests were much concerned in the Success of their religious Disputes. What Persecutions, Rebellions, Revolutions, Loss of Civil and Religious Liberty, these intestine Struggles between Sects have produced, is well known to those acquainted with the History of Mankind. To prevent these Mischiefs was, as we have shewn, one great Motive of the State's seeking *Alliance* with the Church: for the obvious Remedy was the *Establishing one Church*, and giving a general *Toleration to the rest*. But if, in administering this *Remedy*,

the State should stop short, and not proceed to exclude the *tolerated* Religions from entering into the Public Administration, such imperfect Application of *it* would infinitely heighten the Distemper: For, before the *Alliance*, it was only a mistaken Aim in propagating Truth, that occasioned these Disorders; but now, the Zeal for Opinions would be, out of measure, inflamed by Envy and Emulation; which the temporal Advantages, enjoyed by the established Church, exclusive of the rest, always give Birth to: And what Confusion this would produce, had every Sect free Entry into the Administration, is easier conceived than expressed. If it be said, that, would Men content themselves with enjoying their own Opinions, without endeavouring to obtrude them upon others, as Reason dictates they should do, these Evils would never happen; and consequently there would be no Occasion for a *Test Law*: — Right; and so, would Men but observe the Rule of Justice in general, there would be no need to have recourse to Civil Society, to remedy the Neglect.

In a word, an *Established Religion with a Test Law* is the universal Voice of Nature. The most Barbarous Nations have employed it to civilize their Manners; and the Politest knew no other Way to prevent their Return to Barbarity and Confusion.

Thus the Democracy of *Athens*, so humane and free, exacted an Oath of every Citizen for the Security of the established Religion; which was conceived in these Words; “I will not dishonour the
“ *Sacred Arms*^k, nor desert my Comrade in Battle:

^k “Ὅπλα τὰ ἱερά, the *sacred Arms*, mean those which the Lovers presented to their favourite Youths. Concerning this Institution, see what is said in the Explanation of *Virgil's* Episode of *Nisus* and *Euryalus*, in Sect. 4. of this Book, p. 196.

“ I will

“ I will DEFEND AND PROTECT MY COUNTRY
 “ AND MY RELIGION, whether alone, or in Con-
 “ junction with others : I will not leave the Public
 “ in a worse, but in a better Condition than I
 “ found it : I will be always ready to obey the Su-
 “ preme Magistrate, with Prudence ; and to submit
 “ to the established Laws, and to all such as shall
 “ be hereafter established by full Consent of the
 “ People : And I will never connive at any other
 “ who shall presume to despise or disobey them ;
 “ but will revenge all such Attempts on the San-
 “ ctity of the Republic, either alone or in Con-
 “ junction with the People : And lastly, I WILL
 “ CONFORM TO THE NATIONAL RELIGION. So
 “ help me those Gods who are the Avengers of Per-
 “ jury ¹”

Here we see, that after every Man had sworn, *I will defend and protect the Religion of my Country*, in Consequence of the Obligation the State lies under to protect the *established Worship*, he concludes, *I will conform to it* : the most direct and strongest of all *Tests*.

But a Test of conforming to the established Wor-ship, was not only required of those who bore a Share in the Civil Administration, but of those too who were chosen to preside in their Religious Rites. *Demosthenes* hath recorded the Oath which the

¹ Οὐ καλαιχμῶ ὅπλα τὰ ἱερὰ, εἰδ' ἐγκαταλείψω τὸν αἰθέ-
 ρατὴν ὅπερ ἀν' εὐχῆσιν· ΑΜΥΝΩ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΥΠΕΡ ΙΕΡΩΝ, καὶ
 ὑπὲρ ὁσίων καὶ μόνῳ, καὶ μὲν πολλῶν· ἢ παλαιοὶ καὶ ὅσοι ἐλάσσω
 αἰσθάνωμαι, πλείω καὶ δύνωμαι, ὅσην ἀν' αἰθέρα δέξομαι· καὶ δύνω-
 κοῦμαι τῶν αἰετῶν κερνόντων ἐμφρόνως, καὶ τοῖς δεσμοῖς τοῖς ἰδρυμένοις
 πείσωμαι, καὶ εἰς τινὰς ἀν' ἄλλας τὸ πλῆθος ἰδρύνεται ὁμοφρόνως· καὶ
 ἀν' τις ἀναίρει τὰς δεσμούςς ἢ μὴ πείθεται, ὅσοι ἐπιγέλωμαι, ἀμυνῶ καὶ
 μόνῳ, καὶ μὲν πάντων· καὶ ΙΕΡΑ ΤΑ ΠΑΤΡΙΑ ΤΙΜΗΣΩ·
 ἴσορες Θεοὶ τέτων. *Ioan. Stobæi de Rep. Serm. xli. p. 243.*
Lugd. Ed. 1608.

Priestesses of *Bacchus*, called *Γεργιγῆ*, took on entering into their Office. “ I observe a religious
 “ Chastity, and am clean and pure from all other
 “ Defilements, and from Conversation with Man:
 “ AND I CELEBRATE THE THEOINIA AND IO-
 “ BACCHIA TO BACCHUS, ACCORDING TO THE
 “ ESTABLISHED RITES, AND AT THE PROPER
 “ TIMES ^m.

How careful too the *Romans* were for the Support of the *established* Religion, may be seen by a Speech of the Consul *Posthumius* in *Livy*, occasioned by some horrid Abuses committed, through the clandestine Exercise of foreign Worship. *How often*, says he, *in the Times of our Fathers and Forefathers, hath this Affair been recommended to the Magistrates, to prohibit all foreign Worship; to drive the Priests and Sacrificers from the Cirque, the Forum, and the City: To search up and burn all Books of Prophecies; and to abolish all Modes of sacrificing, differing from the Roman Discipline? For these sage and prudent Men, instructed in all kind of divine and human Laws, rightly judged that nothing tended so much to the Overthrow of Religion, as when Men celebrated the Sacred Rites, not after native but foreign Customs* ⁿ.

^m Ἀγνόςω, καὶ εἰμὶ καθαρός, καὶ αἰνῇ διὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐκκαθαρόμε-
 των, καὶ ἀπ’ ἀνδρῶν σωσσίας, καὶ τὰ Θεοῖνια, καὶ Ἰοβακχεῖα γερᾶίρω
 τῷ Διόνυσῳ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΑ ΠΑΤΡΙΑ, καὶ ἐν τοῖς καθήκεσι χρόνοις.
Orat. cont. Nearam.

ⁿ Quoties hoc patrum avorumque ætate negotium est magistratibus datum, ut sacra externa fieri vetarent; sacrificulos, vatesque foro, circo, urbe prohiberent; vaticinos libros conquirerent, comburerentque; omnem disciplinam sacrificandi, præterquam more Romano, abolerent? Judicabant enim prudentissimi viri omnis divini humanique juris, nihil æque dissolvendæ religionis esse, quam ubi non patrio, sed externo ritu sacrificaretur.
Hist. lib. 39.

But

But when I say, all regular policied States, without Exception, had an *established Religion*, I mean no more than *he* would do, who, writing on the Original of Civil Society, should, in order to persuade Men of the Benefits it produces, affirm that all Nations had a Civil Policy. For, as this Writer could not be supposed to mean that every one constituted a free State, on the Principles of public Liberty (which yet was the only Society he was labouring to prove was founded on Truth, and productive of public Good) because it is notorious, that the far greater Part of Civil Policies are constituted on different Principles, and for different Ends; so neither would I be understood to mean, when I say all Nations concurred in making this Union, that they all exactly *discriminated the Natures*, and fairly *adjusted the Rights* of both Societies, on the Principles here laid down; though an *Establishment* resulting therefrom, be the only one I would be supposed to recommend. On the contrary, I know this Union hath been generally made on mistaken Principles; or, if not so, hath degenerated by Length of Time. And as it was sufficient for that Writer's Purpose, that those Societies, good or bad, proved the Sense all Men had of the Benefits resulting from Civil Policy in general, though they were oft mistaken in the Application; so it is for *ours*, that this universal *Concurrence* in the two Societies to unite, shews the Sense of Mankind concerning the *Utility* of such Union. And lastly, as that Writer's Principles are not the less true on account of the general Deviation from them in forming Civil Societies; so may not *these* plain ones of *Alliance*, here delivered; though so few States have suffered themselves to be directed by them in *Practice*, nor any Man, before, delivered them in *Speculation*.

Such

Such then is the *Theory* we have offered to the World; of which whoever would see a full Account, and the several Parts cleared from Objections, may consult the Treatise mentioned before, intituled, *The Alliance between Church and State*; in which we pretend to have discovered a plain and simple Truth, of the highest Concernment to Civil Society, long lost and hid under the learned Obscurity arising from the Collision of contrary false Principles: And the Reception it has met with from all Lovers of Truth, and of their Country, gives us no Reason to repent our Pains.

But it is now Time to return to our principal Subject. We have given a short Account of the true Nature of the *Alliance between Church and State*; both to justify the Conduct of the ancient Lawgivers in establishing Religion, and to shew the infinite Service of this Institution to Civil Society. Another Advantage in this Account is the gaining an exacter Knowledge of the Nature of the *established Religions in the Pagan World*. For having the true *Theory* of an *Establishment*, it serves as a straight Rule, to discover all the Obliquities to which it is applied.

I shall therefore consider the *Causes*, that, in the ancient World, facilitated the *Establishment of Religion*: And likewise *those* which prevented this *Establishment* from receiving its due Form; by which it will be seen, that they did a right Thing a very wrong Way.

I. Ancient *Pagan* Religion, as we have said, and shall shew, was the Worship of local tutelary Deities; which, generally speaking, were supposed to be the Authors of their civil Institutes. The Consequence of this was, that the *State*, as well as Particulars, was the *Subject* of Religion. So that
it

it could not but be that this Religion would become *national and established*; that is, protected and encouraged by the Civil Power. For how could that *Religion*, which was paid to the *national God*, be other than *national*? Or how could that, to which the State, as an artificial Man, was the *Subject*, and paid its Devotions, not be *established* and protected by it?

II. But then these very Things, which so much promoted and *established Religion*, prevented the Union's receiving a due Form, or being made upon a just and equitable Footing. 1. By giving a wrong *Idea* of *Civil Society*. 2. By not giving a right *Form* to the *Religious*.

1. That the Ancients should have a wrong *Idea* of *Civil Society*, and suppose it ordained for the Cognizance of *Religious*, as well as *Civil* Matters, was nothing strange; while they believed in a local tutelary Deity, by whose Direction they were formed into Society; and believed that Society as such was the Subject of Religion. But we have shewn above, that the *Civil Society's* Offer of a voluntary Alliance with the *Religious*, upon Conditions, proceeded from its having no Power in itself to enforce the Influence of Religion to the Service of the State, which it wanted; and that this Incapacity proceeded from its not having any Jurisdiction in Religious Matters. The acting, then, as if it had, would prevent a voluntary Alliance.

2. As to their *Religion*: If it constituted a proper Society, it was yet of Course a Society dependent on the State; because the State assumed the Cognizance of Religious Matters. It was therefore not *Sovereign*. And, by what has been said above, it appears that no voluntary Alliance can be made, but

but between two independent fovereign Societies. But, in Reality, *Pagan* Religion did not constitute any Society at all. For it is to be observed, that the Unity of the Object of Faith, and Conformity to a Formulary of Dogmatic Theology, as the Terms of Communion, are the great Foundation and Bond of a Religious Society°. Now these Things were wanted in the feveral national Religions of Paganism : in which there was only a Conformity in public Ceremonies. The *national Pagan* Religion therefore did not properly compose a *Society*; nor do we find, throughout all the Writings of Antiquity, that it was ever confidered under that Idea ; but only as *Part of the State* ; and in that Consideration had, indeed, its particular Societies and Companies, fuch as the Colleges of Priests and Augurs.

These were fuch Errors and Defects as prevented a good deal of the Utility, which results from *Religious Establishments*, placed upon a legitimate Foundation. But yet *Religious Establishments* they were ; and notwithstanding all their Imperfections, ferved for many great Purposes : Such as *preserving the Being of Religion* : — *bestowing additional Veneration on the Person of the Magistrate, and on the Laws of the State* : — *giving the Magistrate the Right of applying the Civil Efficacy of Religion* : — and giving *Religion a coactive Power for the Reformation of Manners*. And thus much for Establishments.

° See *The Alliance between Church and State*, Book I. Sect. 5.

S E C T. VI.

THE last Instance we shall assign of the Magistrate's Care for the Support of Religion, shall be that universal Practice, in the ancient World, of Religious TOLERATION; or the permitting the free Exercise of all Religions, different from the *national* and *established*. For though the very Nature and Terms of an *established* Religion implied the Magistrate's peculiar Favour and Protection; and though in Fact, they had for its Support, their *Test-Laws*, wherever there was Diversity of Worship; yet it was ancient Policy to allow a full and large *Toleration*.

Two principal Causes induced the *ancient Lawgivers* to this sage and reasonable Conduct.

I. They considered that Religion seldom or never makes a *real Impression* on the Minds of those who are forced into a Profession of it: And yet, that all the Service Religion can do to the State, is by working that *real Impression*. They therefore concluded, that the Profession of Religion should be free.

Hence may be seen the strange Blindness of those *modern Politicians*, who expect to benefit the State by forcing Men to outward Conformity; which only making Hypocrites and Atheists, destroys the sole Means a Church hath of serving the State. But here, by a common Fate of Politicians, they fell from one Blunder to another. For having first, in a tyrannical Humour, or superstitious Fondness for their own Scheme of Worship, infringed upon religious Liberty; and then beginning to find, that Diversity of Sects was hurtful to the State, as it always will be, while the Rights of Religion are violated; instead of repairing the Mistake, and restoring

storing Religious Liberty, which would have stifled this pullulating Evil in the Seed, by affording it no farther Nourishment; they took the other Course, and endeavoured by a thorough Discipline of Conformity, violently to rend it away: And so together with it, they unrooted and destroyed all that Good to Society, which so naturally springs up from Religion.

II. This was the most legitimate Principle they went upon: But their *other*, which was the keeping up the Warmth and Vigour of religious Impressions, by the Introduction and Toleration of new Religions and foreign Worship, was of more immediate Influence. For they considered ^p that (as *Tully* observes in the Words of *Pythagoras*, the most celebrated of *Pagan* Legislators) *then chiefly Piety and Virtue influence the Mind of Man, when he is busied in the Offices of Religion*^q. Now vulgar Paganism being not only false, but highly absurd, having its Foundation solely in the Fancy and the Passions, Variety of Worships was necessary to hit every one's Taste and Humour. The Genius of it making its Followers inconstant, capricious, and fond of Novelties; weary of long worn Ceremonies, and immoderately fond of new ones. And in Effect we see amongst the same People, notwithstanding the universal Notion of tutelary Deities, that, in *this* Age, one God or Mode of Worship, in *that*, another had the Vogue. And

^p Nor does this at all contradict the *Roman* Maxim as delivered by *Posthumius* in *Livy*. [See p. 280.] for *that* Maxim relates to *public Religion*, or the Religion of the State; *this* Observation to *private Religion*, or the Religion of Particulars.

^q — Siquidem & illud bene dictum est à *Pythagora*, doctissimo viro, tum maxime & pietatem & religionem versari in animis, cum rebus divinis operam daremus. *De Leg.* l. ii. c. 11.

every

every new God, or new Ceremony, rekindled the languid Fire of Superstition: Just as in the modern Church of *Rome*, every last Saint gains over the Devotees.

For here it is to be observed, that in the *Pagan* World, a *tolerated Religion* did not imply *Dissension* from the *established*, according to our modern Ideas of *Toleration*. Nor indeed could it (as we shall see presently) from the general Nature and Genius of ancient Idolatry. *Tolerated Religions* were there rather subservient to the *established*, or Supernumeraries of it, than in Opposition to it.

But then they were far from being on a Footing with the *established*, or partaking of its Privileges, as hath been in part seen already, and will presently appear more fully.

But Men going into Antiquity under the Impression of modern Ideas, must needs form very inaccurate Judgments of Things. So here, because few *tolerated Religions* are to be met with in Paganism, according to our Notion of *Toleration*, which is of a Religion in Opposition to the *national*; and consequently, no *one* is guarded against with that Vigilance that *ours* are, but *all* used with more Indulgence than a Religion, disavowing the *established*, could pretend to; therefore a false Opinion hath commonly prevailed, that, in the *Pagan World*, all kinds of Religion were upon an equal Footing, with regard to the State. Hence we hear our Adversaries perpetually applauding^r *wise* Antiquity, for the full and free Liberty in Matters of Religion, so agreeable to the Principles of Truth and public Utility: And arraigning the UNSOCIABLE HUMOUR (as they call it) of CHRI-

^r See the *Characteristics*, *passim*.

STIANITY for the contrary Practice; which, therefore, they would insinuate to be built on contrary Principles.

On this Account, it will not be improper to consider, a little, the Genius of Paganism, as it is opposed to what we call *true Religion*. Which will shew us how easily the Civil Magistrate brought about that *Toleration*, which he had so great Reasons of State to promote: And at the same Time, teach these Objectors to know, that the good Effect of this general *Tolerance*, as far as the Genius of Religion was concerned in its Promotion, was owing to the egregious Falshood and Absurdity of Paganism: And that, on the other Hand, the evil Effects of Intolerance, under the *Christian Religion*, proceeded from its Truth and Perfection; not the natural Consequence, as these Men would insinuate, of a *false Principle*, but the Abuse of a *true one*.

Ancient Paganism was an Aggregate of several distinct Religions, derived from so many pretended Revelations. These, as they were not laid on the Foundation, so neither were they raised on the Destruction of one another. The abounding in Revelations, proceeded, in part, from the great Number of Gods which Men had invented. *The Revelations were not built on one another*; because, having given to their Gods, as local tutelary Deities^s, contrary Natures and Dispositions, and di-

^s See Book IV. — Nay, so fond were they of this Notion, that they degraded even *Jupiter* himself, their *Father of Gods and Men*, into one of these local tutelary Deities, as appears by his several Appellations of *Jupiter Ammon*, *Olympicus*, *Capitolinus*, &c. Dr. B—— seems not to have apprehended this Matter: For in the last Edition of his *Remarks* on that foolish Book, called *A Discourse of Free-thinking*, he thus reproves the Translator of *Lucan* for calling *Jupiter Ammon*, *this greatest*

distinct and separate Interests, each God set up upon his own Bottom, and held little in common

of the Gods, this mighty Chief: — “ A Roman would never
 “ have said that *Juppiter Ammon* was as great as *Juppiter Ca-*
 “ *pitolinus*; though the Translator took it for granted that all
 “ *Jupiters must needs be the same*. But a known Passage in
 “ *Suetonius* may correct his Notion of the Heathen Theology.
 “ — *Augustus* had built a Temple to *Juppiter Tonans*, within
 “ the Area of the Capitol: whereupon he had a Dream, that
 “ *Capitolinus Juppiter* complained his Worshippers were drawn
 “ away: *Augustus*, in his Dream, answered, that he had de-
 “ dicated *Tonans* there, only as the other’s Porter; and accord-
 “ ingly, when he waked, he hung (as a Porter’s Badge) that
 “ Temple round with Bells. — Now if *Capitolinus* would not
 “ bear the very Thunderer by him, but in Quality of his
 “ Porter; much less would he have suffered poor beggarly *Am-*
 “ *mon* (for all he was his Name-fake) to be styled the mighty
 “ Chief.” [p. 281.] The great Critic here supposes, that
 in the Heathen Theology all Jupiters were not the same, i. e.
 according to the popular Notion; that being the Question, not
 the Notions of the Philosophers, in their Explanations of the
 ancient Mythology. These latter, indeed, reckon up several
 different Jupiters: But, in the popular Belief, *Jupiter* was but
 one, the Father of Gods and Men. For the Case stood thus:
 The ancient People, sometimes, in Excess of Flattery, called
 their good Kings and Benefactors by the Name of *Jupiter*;
 (as the People of *Lystra* called *Paul*, saying, *the Gods are come*
down to us in the Likeness of Men) and afterwards worshipped
 them as *Jupiter*; which was one principal Reason of *Jupiter*’s
 being a tutelary Deity. Now the Philosophers, searching into
 the Original of the Pagan Theology, found that, in several
 Places, their Kings had given Occasion to the Worship of *Ju-*
piter, whom, as a tutelary Deity, being worshipped in each
 Place by distinguishing and peculiar Rites, they regarded, as
 several and different Jupiters; considering them as the Kings,
 in whose Honour these Rites were performed. Hence *Varro* in
Tertullian reckons up no less than three hundred Jupiters. On
 the contrary, the People all the World over considered *Ju-*
piter as one, the Father of Gods and Men: All their particular
 Benefactors, who gave Occasion to his Worship, being swallowed
 up in him.

What then shall we say to the Story from *Suetonius*, which
 is brought to prove that, according to the popular Theology,
 all Jupiters were not the same? But surely the Romans regarded

with the rest^t. — *They were not built on the Destruction of one another*; because, as has been observed, the several Religions of Paganism did not consist in Matters of Belief, and a dogmatic Theology, in which, where there is a Contrariety, Re-

the *Capitoline Jupiter*, and the *Thunderer* as the same: If it be asked, Why then had they different Names? *Suetonius* will inform us: who relates that *Augustus* consecrated this Temple to *Jupiter Tonans*, on his being preserved from a dreadful Flash of Lightning, in his *Cantabrian Expedition*. And so *Minucius Felix* understood the Matter, where he thus addresses the *Pagan Idolators*: — “ Quid, formæ ipsæ & habitus, nonne ar-
“ guunt ludibria & dedecora Deorum vestrorum? *Vulcanus* clau-
“ dus Deus & debilis: *Apollo* tot ætatibus levis: — Quid ipse
“ JUPITER vester? modo imberbis statuitur, modo barbatus lo-
“ catur: & cum HAMMON DICITUR, habet cornua; & cum
“ CAPITOLINUS tunc gerit fulmina,” — Cap. 21. And *Eusebius*, who was perfectly well acquainted with the *Pagan Theology*, says expressly, that *Ammon* was one of the Surnames of *Jupiter* — ἐτι δὲ Δία τὸ ὑπὸ τινῶν ΑΜΜΩΝΑ προσαγορευόμενον. *Præp. Evang.* l. iii. c. 3. However, this we must allow, *Capitolinus* and *Tonans* appear to *Augustus* in a *Dream*, as two different Persons, and are so considered by him when awake. The true and easy Solution of the Difficulty is this: The *Pagans* worshipped their Gods under a material visible Shape. And their Statues, when consecrated, were supposed to be informed by an Intelligence, which the God, to whose Worship they were erected, sent into them as his Vicegerent. See *Mede's Works*, B. III. C. 5. This general Notion furnished *Lucian* with a very pleasant Incident in his *Jupiter Tragicus*, who calling a grand Synod of the Gods, is made to summon all those of Gold, Silver, Ivory, Stone, and Copper. Now, in *Augustus's Dream*, it was the Intelligence, or Vicegerent in the Statue of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, that complained of his new Brother, in that of *Tonans*, as getting all the Custom from him. This being the whole of the Mystery, *Jupiter's Identity* remains unshaken.

^t Denique & antequam commerciis orbis pateret, & antequam gentes ritus suos moresque miscerent, unaquæque natio conditorum suum, aut ducem inclytum, aut reginam pudicam sexu suo fortio-rem, aut alicujus muneris vel artis repertorem venerabatur, ut civem bonæ memoriæ. Sic & defunctis præmium, & futuris dabatur exemplum. *Minuc. Fel.* c. 20. Hence may be

ligions

ligions destroy one another; but in Matters of Practice, in Rites and Ceremonies; and in these, a Contrariety did no Harm. For having given their Gods contrary Natures and Interests, where was the Wonder of a Discordancy in their Commands; and *one's* thinking this no Mark of *another's* false Pretensions?

These were horrible Defects in the very Effence of their Theology: And yet from these would necessarily arise *an universal Toleration*: For admitting each others Pretensions, there must needs be a perfect Harmony and INTERCOMMUNITY^v amongst them; there being no Room for any other Disputes, but whose God was most powerful; except where, by Accident, it became a Dispute between two States inhabiting the same Country,

seen the Falshood, both in *Fact* and *Reason*, of the Foundation Principle of the Author of *The Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion*; That “it was a common and necessary Method “for new Revelations to be built and grounded on precedent Revelations.” Chap. iv. p. 20—26. See this Position confuted more at large in the Second Vol. of *Div. Leg.* Book VI. Sect. 6.

^v *Julian* makes this the distinguishing Character of the Pagan Religion. For, writing to the People of *Alexandria*, and upbraiding them for having forsaken the Religion of their Country, in order to aggravate the Charge, he insinuates them guilty of Ingratitude, as having forgot those happy Times when *all Egypt worshipped the Gods in common*, — καὶ ὅτε εἰσέερχεται μνήμη τῆ παλαιᾶς ὑμᾶς ἐκείνης εὐδαιμονίας, ἥνικα ἦν κοινωνία μὲν πρὸς θεοὺς Αἰγύπτῳ τῇ πάσῃ, πολλῶν δὲ ἀπελαύομεν ἀγαθῶν. And, in his Book against the *Christian Religion*, he says, there were but two Commands in the Decalogue, that were peculiar to the *Jews*, and which the Pagans would not own to be reasonable, namely, the Observation of the *Sabbath*, and the *having no other Gods but the Creator of all Things*. Ποῖον ἔθνος ἐστὶ (says he) πρὸς τῷ θεῷ ἔξω θεοῦ, καὶ προσκυνοῦσιν θεοῖς ἑτέροις, καὶ θεῷ, μνήμη δὲ τῶν λαβδάρων, ὃ μὴ τὰς ἄλλας οἶεταί χρῆναι φυλάττειν ἐν λόγῳ, *Ap. S. Cyril. cont. Julian.* l. v. The first Cause of all Things we see was acknowledged by the Pagans: what stuck with them was the not worshipping other Gods in common.

who was truly the *tutelar* Deity of the Place. As once we are told happened to two *Egyptian* Cities, which broke out into a religious War :

“ Inde furor vulgo, quod numina vicinorum

“ Odit uterque locus, cum SOLOS CREDIT HABENDOS

“ Esse Deos, quos ipse colit ^w.

But from this Instance a certain noble Author would persuade us ^x, that Intolerance was of the very Nature and Genius of the *Egyptian* Theology, from whence all Paganism arose. “ The
“ common Heathen Religion (says he) was sup-
“ ported chiefly from that sort of Enthusiasm,
“ which is raised from the external Objects of
“ Grandeur, Majesty, and what we call August.
“ On the other Hand, the *Egyptian* OR SYRIAN
“ Religions, which lay most in Mystery and con-
“ cealed Rites, *having less Dependence on the Ma-*
“ *gistrate*, and less of that Decorum of Art, Po-
“ liteness, and Magnificence, ran into a more
“ pusillanimous, frivolous, and mean kind of
“ Superstition : The Observance of Days, the
“ Forbearance of Meats, and the Contention about
“ Traditions, Seniority of Laws, and Priority of
“ Godships.

“ Summus utrimque

“ Inde furor vulgo, &c. ^y ———

Well might he say, he suspected *that it would be urged against him, that he talked at random and without Book^z* ; The very contrary of every Thing he here says, being the Truth. But his supposing the *Egyptian* and *Syrian* Religions had less Dependence on the Magistrate than the *Roman*, and that the *Egyptian* and *Syrian*, as he is pleased to call the *Jewish*, were the same, or of a like Genius, is

^w *Juvenal*, Sat. 15.

^x *Characteristics*, vol. iii. Miscel. 2.

^y Vol. iii. p. 41.

^z P. 82.

such an Instance of his Knowledge and Sincerity, as is not easily to be equalled. But because he makes such a Bustle with this poor Affair from *Juvenal*, and would insinuate it to be the Original of Intolerance to the *Jewish* and *Christian* World, and owing to the Spirit and Genius of the *Egyptian* Theology; I will now give the Reader the true Original of this intolerant Humour in some few *Egyptian* Cities; and shew this Writer's Admirers that their Master was quite mistaken, and in the dark, concerning the whole Matter.

The Instance stands almost single in Antiquity. This would incline one to think that it arose from no common Principle: And if we enquire into the *Nature* of the *Egyptian* Theology, it will appear impossible to be *that*. For the Notion of local and tutelary Deities, which must needs prevent all Intolerance, was originally and peculiarly *Egyptian*, as we shall shew hereafter. It will be then asked how this Mischief happened? I believe a Passage in *Diodorus Siculus*, as quoted by *Eusebius*, will let us into the whole Mystery; which was this: A certain King of *Egypt* finding some Cities in his Dominions apt to cabal together, and conspire against him, contrived to introduce the Worship of one certain Animal into *each*; different from and exclusive of every of the *other*: So that while each revered his own, and despised the other's, they would be so indisposed to one another, as never more to unite in a common Design against him. We see then that the Disputes between the *Ombites* and *Tentyrites* in *Juvenal*, were little more a religious War, on the Principles of Intolerance, than a drunken Squabble between two trading Companies in the Church of *Rome* about their patron Saints. But the Passage is too remarkable to be omitted. *Diodorus*, when he had

delivered what fabulous History records of the Original of Brute-worship, subjoins what he supposed the true Political one, in these Words: *But some give another Original of the Worship of Brute Animals: For the several Cities being formerly prone to Rebellion, and to enter into Conspiracies against monarchical Government, one of their Kings contrived to introduce into each City the Worship of a different Animal: So that while every one revered that which itself held sacred, and despised what another had consecrated; they could hardly ever be brought to join cordially together in one common Design, to the Disturbance of the Government^a.*

^a Αἰτίαις δὲ καὶ ἄλλας φασὶ τινες εἶναι τὸ ἀλόγων ζώων τιμῆς. Ἐπεὶ γὰρ πλήθος τὸ παλαιὸν ἀφισαμύνης τῶν βασιλέων, καὶ συμφρογνέειν εἰς τὸ μηκέτι βασιλεύειν, ἐπινοήσαι τινα Διόφορον σεβάσματα αὐτοῖς τῶν ζώων ὡραχθῆναι, ὅπως ἐκάστων τὸ μὴ παρ' αὐτοῖς τιμώμενον σεβόμενον. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὡραχθὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀφιερωμὲν καὶ ἀφρογνέειν, μηδέποτε ὁμονοῆσαι διώωντας πάντες οἱ κατ' Αἴγυπτον. Euseb. Præp. Evang. p. 32. Rob. Steph. Ed. Plutarch gives us an Account of another of these Squabbles (if indeed not the same with that of Juvenal's) which happened much about the same Time, between the Oxyrynchitæ and the Cynopolitæ; and confirms what we have here said of the Original of this mutual Hatred: which, after all, was rather for a supposed Impiety committed against each other's Gods, than for one's worshipping what the other did not approve of. — Ἄλλοι δὲ τῶνδε τῶν δεινῶν τινα καὶ πανέξωτον βασιλέων ἰσορροῖσι, τὰς Αἴγυπτίους καὶ ἀμαθόνας τῇ μὴ φύσει καὶ φύσει καὶ πρὸς μελαβολὴν καὶ νεωτερισμὸν ὀξύρροπος ὄντας, ἀμαχον δὲ καὶ δυσκάθεκτον ὑπὸ πλήθος διώαμιν ἐν τῇ σωφροσύνῃ καὶ κοινοπραγίᾳ ἔχοντας, αἰδίδιον αὐτοῖς ἐν καὶ ἀπορροῇ δείξαντα δεισιδαιμονίαν Διόφορος ἀπαύτως πρὸς τῶν τῶν θεῶν ἀπὸ πρὸς ἄλλοις ἄλλα τιμᾶν καὶ σεβέσθαι δυσμενῶς καὶ πολεμικῶς ἀλλήλοις προσφερομένων, καὶ τροφὴν ἑτέραν ἑτέρας προσίεσθαι πεφυκότας, ἀμυνόντας αἰεὶ τοῖς οἰκείοις ἑκάστοι καὶ χαλεπῶς ἀδικήματα φέρουτες, ἐλάνθανον τὴν τῶν θεῶν ἔχθραν σιμωλκόμενοι καὶ σιμωλπολεμέμενοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους· μόνοι γὰρ ἔτι νῦν Αἴγυπτίων Λυκοπολίται πρὸς βαλὼν ἐοτίσιν, ἐπεὶ καὶ λύκος, ὃν θεὸν νομίζουσιν· οἱ δὲ Ὀξύρυγχι κατ' ἡμᾶς τὸ Κυνωπολίται τὸ Ὀξύρυχον ἰχθυὶ ἐοτιόντων, κυῶας συλλαβόντες καὶ θύσαντες, ὡς ἱερεῖον κατέφατον· ἐν δὲ τὰς καὶ ἀσάντες εἰς πόλεμον, ἀλλήλους δὲ διέθησαν κακῶς, καὶ ὑστερον ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων κολαζόμενοι διετέθησαν. Περὶ ΙΣ. καὶ ΟΣΙΡ. 676, 677. Steph. Ed.

But

But to return: Such then was the Root and Foundation of this SOCIABILITY of Religions in the ancient World, so much envied by modern Infidelity. The Effect of their Absurdities, as Religions; and of their Imperfections, as Societies. And yet had universal Custom made this Principle of general Intercommunity and Acknowledgment of one another's Pretensions so essential to Paganism, that, when their Philosophers and Men of Learning, on the spreading of Christianity, were become ashamed of the Grossness of Polytheism, and had so refined it by allegorical Interpretations of their Mythology, as to make the several *Pagan* Deities but the various Attributes of the one only true God; yet still they adhered to their darling Principle of *Intercommunity* (for Paganism still continued to be without a dogmatic Theology, or Formulary of Faith) and contended that this Diversity was Harmony, a musical Discord well pleasing to the God of Heaven and Earth. “It is very right
 “for us (says *Symmachus*^b) to suppose that it is one
 “and the same Being which all Mankind adores.
 “We behold the same Stars; we live under the
 “Influence of one common Heaven; we are incom-
 “passed by the same Universe. What matters it,
 “what Device each Man uses in his Search after
 “Truth? ONE Road is plainly too narrow to lead
 “us into the Initiation of so grand a Mystery.”
The great Lord and Governor of the Universe (says *Themistius*) *seems to be delighted with these Diversities of Religions. It is his Will that the Syrians worship him one Way, the Greeks another, and the Egypti-*

^b *Æquum est, quicquid omnes colunt unum putari; eadem spectamus astra; commune cœlum est; idem nos mundus involvit: Quid interest quâ quisque prudentiâ verum requirat? UNO itinere non potest perveniri ad tam grande secretum. Lib. x. Ep. 61.*

ans yet another^d. The Reader sees that the Foundation of this Way of thinking, was the old Notion of local tutelary Deities. But, what is remarkable, it continues even to this Day, to be the essential Principle of Paganism. *Bernier* tells us, that the *Gentiles* of *Hindoustan* defended their Religion against him, in this Manner: “ They gave
 “ me (says he) this very pleasant Answer; that
 “ they did not at all pretend that their Law was
 “ universal — that they did not in the least pretend
 “ that *ours* was false: It might, for what they
 “ knew, be a good Law for us, and that GOD
 “ MAY HAVE MADE MANY DIFFERENT ROADS
 “ TO LEAD TO HEAVEN; but they would by no
 “ Means hear that *ours* was general for the whole
 “ World, and *theirs*, mere Fable and Invention^e. ”
Bernier indeed speaks of this as a peculiar Whimsy

^d Ταύτη νόμιζε γάννυαξ τῇ ποικιλίᾳ τῶν πάντων Ἀρχηγέτων· ἄλλως Σύρος ἐθέλει θεησκοῦεν, ἄλλως Ἑλληνας, ἄλλως Αἰγυπτίους. *Orat.* XII.

^e Ils me donnoient cette responce assez plaisante; qu'ils ne pretendoient pas que leur Loi fût universelle — qu'ils ne pretendoient point que la nôtre fût fausse; qu'il se pouvoit faire qu'elle fût bonne pour nous, & que DIEU POUVOIT AVOIR FAIT PLUSIEURS CHEMINS DIFFERENS POUR ALLER AU CIEL; mais ils ne veulent pas entendre que la nôtre tant generale pour toute la terre, la leur ne peut être que fable & que pure invention. *Voyages de Fr. Bernier*, tom. ii. p. 138. Friar *William de Rubruquis*, a French Minorite, who travelled into Tartary in the Year 1253. tells us, c. 43. that *Mangu Chan*, Emperor of Tartary, talking to him of Religion, said, *That as God hath given unto the Hand divers Fingers, so he hath given many Ways to Men to come unto him; he hath given the Scriptures unto you; but he hath given unto us Soothsayers, and we do that which they bid us, and we live in Peace.* The Jesuit *Tachard* tells us, that the King of Siam made much the same Answer to the French Ambassador, who moved him, in his Master's Name, to embrace the Christian Religion — Je m'étonne que le roy de France mon bon ami s'intresse si fort dans une affaire qui regarde Dieu, où il semble que Dieu même ne prenne aucun interest, & qu'il a entièrement laissé à nôtre discretion. Car ce vray Dieu,
 that

that had entered the Head of his Brachman. But had he been as conversant in History and Antiquity, as he was in modern Philosophy, he would have known that this was a Principle that accompanied Paganism through every Age of it.

Let us now see the Nature and Genius of those Religions which were built, as we say, on true Revelation. The first is the JEWISH; in which was taught the Belief of one God, the Maker and Governor of all Things, in contradistinction to all the false Gods of Paganism: Which necessarily introduced a dogmatic Theology. So that the Followers of this Religion, if they believed it true, in the Sense it was delivered to them, must needs believe all others false. But it being instituted only for the *Jewish* People, they had, *directly*, no farther to do with that Falsehood, than to guard

qui a créé la ciel & la terre & toutes les creatures qu'on y voit & qui leur a donné des natures & des inclinations si différentes, ne pouvoit-il pas, s'il eût voulu, en donnant aux hommes des corps & des ames semblables, leur inspirer les mêmes sentimens pour la Religion qu'il falloit suivre, & pour le culte qui luy étoit le plus agreable, & faire naître toutes les nations dans une même loy? Cet ordre parmi les hommes & cette unité de Religion dependant absolument de la Providence divine, qui pouvoit aussi aisement l'introduire dans le monde que la diversité des sectes qui s'y sont etablies de tout tems; ne doit-on pas croire que le vray Dieu prend autant de plaisir à estre honoré par des cultes & des ceremonies différentes, qu'à estre glorifié par une prodigieuse quantité de creatures qui le louent chacune à sa maniere? Cette beauté & cette variété que nous admirons dans l'ordre naturel, seroient elles moins admirables dans l'ordre surnaturel, ou moins dignes de la sagesse de Dieu? *Voyage de Siam*, l. v. p. 231, 232. Amst. Ed. 1688. The *Abbé de Choisi*, a Coadjutor in this Embassy, tells us, that the People were in the same way of thinking with their King. — Jusques ici ils [les Missionnaires] n'ont pas fait grand chose dans le royaume de Siam. Les Siamois sont des esprits doux, qui n'aiment pas à disputer, & qui croient la plupart de toutes les Religions sont bonnes. *Journal du Voyage de Siam*, p. 200. Ed. Amst. 1688.

themselves

themselves from its Infection, by holding no Fellowship or Communion with them.

Yet so strong was this universal Prejudice of *Intercommunity*, that all the Provisions of the Law could not keep these People from running into the Error. For their frequent Defection into Idolatry, till after the *Babylonish* Captivity, was no other than the joining foreign Worship to that of the God of *Israel*.

After this Religion, comes the CHRISTIAN, which taught the Belief of the same one God, the supreme Cause of all Things: And being a Revelation, like the other, from Heaven, must needs be built upon that *other*; or on the Supposition of its Truth. And as this latter was not designed for one People, but given to all Mankind, for that Reason, but more especially for others, which will be fully considered in their Place, it had a more complete System of dogmatic Theology. The Consequence of which was, that its Followers must not only think all *Paganism* false, and *Judaism* abolished, and so refuse all Fellowship and Communion with them; but must endeavour to propagate it throughout the World, on the Destruction of all the rest. And their dogmatic Theology teaching them that *Truth* was the End of Religion, which End the *Pagans*, who had only public Rites and Ceremonies, thought to be public *Utility*^f; it was no Wonder their Aversion to Falshood should be vastly increased. And so far all was right. But this Aversion, cherished by Piety, gave Birth to a blind, ungovernable Zeal; which, when Arguments failed of making their due Impression, hurried them on to all the unlawful Licence of Force and Compulsion. Hence

^f For this the Reader may see *Dion. Halicarnasseus's* Discourse of the Religion which *Romulus* introduced into his Republic; and for the Reason, see Book III. and IV.

the Evils of Persecution, and the Reversement of the Laws of Humanity, in a fond Passion for propagating the Law of God.

This is a true Representation of the State of Things, both in the *Pagan*, and in the believing World. To give it the utmost Evidence, we will next consider the Reception *true Religion* met with amongst Idolaters.

The *Pagan* World having early imbibed this inveterate Prejudice concerning Intercommunity of Religions, when the *Jewish* appeared, Men were but too much accustomed to new Revelations, not to acknowledge its superior Pretences. Accordingly we find by the whole History of that People, that it was esteemed a *true One* by all its Neighbours. And therefore they proceeded in their usual Way, to joint it, on Occasion with their own: As did those, whom the King of *Assyria* sent into the Cities of *Israel* in the Place of the ten Tribes. Thus, in the same Time and Country (so great was the Influence of this Principle of *Intercommunity*) the *Jews* of *Jerusalem* added the Pagan Idolatries to their own Religion; and the Pagans of *Samaria* added the *Jewish* Religion to their own Idolatries.

But when these People of God, in necessary Consequence of their having a dogmatic Theology more carefully inculcated to them after their Return from the Captivity, persisted in pretending not only that their Religion was true, but the only true One; then it was, that they began to be treated by their Neighbours, and afterwards by the *Greeks* and *Romans*, with the utmost Hatred and Contempt for this *their Inhumanity and Unsociableness*. To this Cause alone we are to attribute all that Rancour and Spleen that appears in the Histories of these latter concerning them. *Celsus* fairly reveals what lay at Bottom, and speaks out for them all:

If

If the Jews on these Accounts adhere to their own Law, it is not for that they are blameable: I rather blame those who forsake their own Country Religion to embrace the Jewish. But if these People give themselves Airs of sublimer Wisdom than the rest of the World, and on that Score refuse all Communion with it, as not equally pure; — I must tell them that it is not to be believed that they are more dear, or agreeable to God, than other Nations^g. Hence amongst the Pagans the Jews came to be distinguished from all other People by the Name of GENUS HOMINUM IN-VISUM DEIS^h, and with good Reasonⁱ.

This was the Reception the Jews met with in the Pagan World: But not pretending to obtrude their Religion on the rest of Mankind, as being given solely to themselves, they yet escaped Persecution, properly so called.

When Christianity arose, though on the Foundation of Judaism, it was at first received with great Complacency by the Pagan World. For they were such utter Strangers to the Idea of one Religion's being built, or dependent on another, that it was a long while before they knew this Connexion between them. Even Celsus himself, with all his Sufficiency, saw so little how this Matter stood, that he was not satisfied whether the Jews and Christians worshipped the same God; was sometimes inclined to think they did not. This Ignorance, which the Propagators of our Religion

^g Εἰ μὲν δὴ καὶ ταῦτα περὶ ἐλλοιεν Ἰουδαῖοι τὸ ἴδιον νόμον, ὃ μεμ-
πλᾶ αὐτοῖς· ἐκείνων δὲ μᾶλλον τὸ καλαλιπόντων τὰ σφέτερά, καὶ τὰ Ἰου-
δαίων προσηγοριῶν· εἰ δ' ὥς τι σφώτερον εἰδότες σεμνυνοῦνταί τε,
καὶ τὸ ἄλλων κοινωνίαν οὐκ ἐξ ἴσου καθαῶν ἀπετρέφονται — ὃ μὴ
εἰδ' οὐδοκιμεῖν ὡς τὰ θεῶν καὶ γέγενεσθαι ἀγνόως τι τῶν ἄλλων
τάτης εἰκός. Orig. cont. Celsum, l. v. p. 259.

^h Tacit. Hist. l. 5.

ⁱ See Note (m) p. 304.

were not too forward in enlightening^k, for fear of hindering the Progress of the Gospel, prevented the Prejudice they had to *Judaism*, from disposing them to *Christianity*. So that the Gospel was favourably heard; and the superior Evidence, with which it was accompanied, disposed Men, habituated to pretended Revelations, eagerly to receive it. Accordingly we find one *Roman* Emperor introducing it amongst his Closet Religions; and another proposing to the Senate, to give it a more public Entertainment^l. But when it was

^k To this old *Pagan* Blindness, some Moderns, who would be thought *Christians*, but tired with what they call the dead Weight of *Judaism*, seem to have succeeded. These Men pretend, that what is said in Scripture of the Dependency and Foundation of *Christianity* on *Judaism*, is said by way of *Accommodation* to the Prejudices of the *Jews*; but that when the Preachers of the Gospel applied themselves to the *Gentiles*, they preached up *Jesus* simply, as a divine Messenger from God, pretermittting the *Jewish* Characters of him. Now, though nothing can be more false, or, for any who ever read the *Epistles* of *St. Paul*, more extravagant; yet the manner of their introducing themselves to the *Gentiles*, furnished that little Shadow of Pretence for so saying: The Reason of which wise Conduct we have given above. But when the *Gentiles* had embraced Baptism, then all Care was taken, as we may see by *St. Paul's Epistles*, to let them into the true Nature of *Christianity*, by instructing them in its Dependency on *Judaism*: But more of this hereafter.

^l The not attending to the Genius of ancient Paganism, hath betrayed some of the best modern Critics into an iniquitous Judgment on the first ancient Apologists; who, they pretend, have unskilfully managed, in employing all their Pains to evince what was so easy to be done, namely, the Falshood of Paganism, rather than in proving the Truth of their own Religion. For, say these Critics, was Paganism proved false, it did not follow that *Christianity* was true; but was the *Christian* Religion proved true, it was Demonstration that the *Pagan* was false. But now we see the Apologists acted with much good Sense and Judgment: For the Matter was just otherwise. The Truth of *Christianity* was acknowledged by the *Pagans*: They only wanted the *Christians*, in their turn, to acknowledge theirs to be true

found

found to carry its Pretension higher, and to claim, as the *Jewish* did, the Title of the only true one, then it incurred all that Hatred and Contempt, under which the *Jewish* had so long laboured. But when it went still farther, and pretended a Necessity for all Mankind to forsake their Country Religions, and embrace it; this so shocked^m the *Pagans*, that it soon brought upon itself the bloodiest Storms of Persecution. This was truly the Beginning of Persecution for Religion; (though not the Original of the intolerant Principle, as we shall see before we come to the End of this Section) a Persecution not committed, but undergone, by the *Christian Church*.

likewise. As this could not be done, there was a Necessity to give the Reasons of their Refusal. And this gave birth to so many Confutations of idolatrous Worship. It is true, when their Adversaries found them persist in their *unsociable* Pretences, they returned the Treatment in kind; and accused *Christianity*, in its turn, of Falshood: But this was not till afterwards, and then faintly, and only by way of acquit.

^m The Reader will not be displeased to hear a very curious Story, told in the Life of St. *Anscharius*, which tends much to illustrate what we say concerning the Genius of Paganism, and the Reason of its Aversion to *Christianity*. This Saint travelling amongst the People of the North fell into the following Adventure — “Pervenit ad Byrcam, ubi invenit Regem & multitudinem populi nimio errore confusam. Instigante enim Diabolo, contigit, eo ipso tempore, ut quidam illò adveniens diceret, se in conventu Deorum, qui ipsam terram possidere credebantur adfuisse, & ab iis missum, ut hæc Regi & Populis nuntiaret: Vos, inquiunt, nos vobis propitios diu habuistis, & terram incolatus vestri cum multa abundantia nostro adjutorio in pace & prosperitate longo tempore tenuistis. Vos quoque nobis sacrificia & vota debita persolvistis. At nunc & sacrificia solita subtrahitis, & vota spontanea segnius offertis, &, quod magis nobis displicet, alienum Deum super vos introducitis. Si itaque nos vobis propitios habere vultis, sacrificia omissa augete, & vota majora persolvite. Alterius quoque Dei culturam, quæ contraria nobis docetur, ne apud vos recipiatis, & ejus servitio ne intendatis. Porro si etiam plures Deos habere desi-

Thus

Thus we see how it happened, that such good Emperors as *Trajan*, and *M. Antonine*, come to be found in the first Rank of Persecutors. A Difficulty that hath very much embarrassed the Enquirers into Ecclesiastical Antiquity; and given a Handle to the Deists, who empoison every Thing they touch, of pretending to suspect that there must be something very much amiss in primitive *Christianity*, while such good Magistrates could become its Persecutors. But now the Reason stands manifest: the *Christian* Pretences overthrowing a fundamental Principle of Paganism, which they thought founded in Nature; namely, *the friendly Intercommunity of Worship*. And thus we get to the true Sense of that famous Passage of *Pliny* the Younger: “For I did not in the least hesitate, but that what-
“ever should appear, on Confession, to be their
“Faith, yet that their Forwardness and *inflexible*
“*Obstinacy* would certainly deserve Punishmentⁿ.” For what was this *inflexible Obstinacy*? It could not be in professing a *new Religion*: That was a Thing common enough. It was the refusing all Com-

“*deratis, & vobis non sufficimus, Ericum quondam Regem vestrum*
“*nos unanimes in Collegium nostrum adsciscimus, ut sit unus de*
“*numero Deorum.*” Mabillon Act. SS. Ord. S. Bened. Sæc. IV. p. 2. And how little these Pagans doubted of *Christianity*’s being a real Revelation from a God, we may see in another Place of the same Life, where one of their piratical Kings proposes, according to their Custom, to enquire by Divination what Place they should next invade: — “Interim Rex præfatus cum Danis
“agere cœpit, ut forte perquirerent, utrum voluntate deorum
“locus ipse ab eis devastandus esset. Multi, inquit, ibi sunt
“dii potentes & magni, ibi etiam olim ecclesia constructa est,
“& cultura Christi à multis Christianis ibi excolitur, qui for-
“tissimus est Deorum, & potest sperantibus in se quomodo vult
“auxiliari — Quæsitum est igitur fortibus,” &c. Cap. 16.

ⁿ Neque enim dubitabam, *qualecunque esset* quod faterentur, certe, *pervicaciam & inflexibilem obstinationem* debere puniri. Lib. x. Ep. 97.

munion with Paganism; refusing to throw a grain of Incense on their Altars. For we must not think, as is commonly imagined, that this was enforced by the Magistrate to make them renounce their Religion; but only to give a *Test* of the *Hospitality* and *Sociableness* of it. It was indeed, and rightly, understood by the *Christians* to be a renouncing their Religion; and so, accordingly, abstained from. The Misfortune was that the Pagans did not consider this *Inflexibility* as an *Error*, but as an *Immorality*. The *unsociable, uncommunicable* Temper, in Matters of Religious Worship, was esteemed by the best of them as a *Hatred and Aversion to Mankind*. As may be seen by the following Passage of *Tacitus*: *Igitur primo correpti [Christiani] qui fatebantur; deinde indicio eorum multitudo ingens; haud perinde in crimine incendii quam ODIO HUMANI GENERIS convicti sunt*^o. *Convicted*, he says, *of Hate to all Mankind*. But how? The Acknowledgment of the Pagans themselves concerning the Purity of the *Christians* Morals shews this could be only a *Conviction* of their rejecting all *Intercommunity* of Worship; which, so great was their Prejudice, they thought could proceed from nothing but *Hate to Mankind*. The very same Character the same Historian gives of the *Jews*: *apud ipsos FIDES OBSTINATA, sed adversus omnes alios HOSTILE ODIUM*^p. Now the *Jews* and *Christians* had nothing in common but this *unsociable uncommunicable* Temper in Religious Matters, this *obstinata Fides* which gave so much Umbrage to Paganism. We are not to imagine, then, these excellent Pagan Moralists so blind as not to see all the Merit of a *firm and fixed Resolution of keeping a good Conscience*. They did see and own it, as ap-

^o *Ann.* 15. *Sect.* 44.^p *Histor.* lib. v. c. 5.

pears from the famous *Iustum & tenacem propositi virum*, &c. But, unluckily for Truth, they did not see the *Pervicacia & inflexibilis obstinatio* of the *Christians* in that Light.

Tho' it was nothing but such a *fixed Resolution*; as appears even from the Confession of one who most severely censured them for their *Obstinacy*, the good Emperor *Marcus Antoninus*. He, in his Book of *Meditations*, speaking of a wise Man's Readiness to die, says: *He should be so prepared, that his Readiness may be seen to be the Effect of a well-weighed Judgment, not of MERE OBSTINACY, like that of the Christians*⁹. This is a very heavy Charge on the primitive Martyrs. But he himself acquits them in his Constitution to the *Community of Asia*, given us by *Eusebius*. *I know*, says he, *the Gods are watchful to discover such sort of Men. For it is much more fit that they themselves should punish those who REFUSE TO WORSHIP THEM, than that we should interfere to do it*^r. Why then was it called *mere Obstinacy*? The Reason we have given above: Universal Prejudice had made Men esteem refusing this *Intercommunity* as the most brutal of all Dissociability.

Thus we have shewn our Adversaries the true Original of that universal Tolerance, as far as Religion influenced it, under Paganism; and the Want of it sometimes, under *Christianity*. The Account will be farther useful to many great Purposes as will be seen hereafter. At present we shall only hint at one specious Objection against *Christianity*, which it obviates. If it were, say the

⁹ — τὸ δ' ἔτοιμον τῷτο, ἵνα ἀπὸ ἰδικῆς κρίσεως ἔρχηται, μὴ καὶ ψιλὴν ἀτάξιν, ὡς οἱ Χριστιανοί. Lib. xi. § 3.

^r Ἐγὼ μὲν οἶδ' ὅτι καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπιμελὲς ἐστὶ μὴ λανθάνειν τοὺς τοιούτους· πολὺ γὰρ μᾶλλον ἐκείνοι κολλάσασθαι αὐτοὺς μὴ βελομήδους αὐτοὺς περισκιεῖν ἢ ὑμεῖς. Euseb. Eccl. Hist. l. iv. c. 13.

Deists, accompanied with such illustrious and extraordinary Marks of Truth, as is pretended; how happened it, that its Truth was not seen by more of the best and wisest of those Times? And if it were seen (as it certainly was by *Ammianus Marcellinus*, *Macrobius*, and many others) how could they continue *Pagans*? The Answer is plain and strong. The Truth was generally seen. But we have shewn that the Conviction of it, in a *new Religion*, was, with Men over-run with so universal a Prejudice, no Reason for their quitting an *old one*.

The Case indeed was different in a *Jew*, who held none of this Intercommunity. If such a one owned the Truth of *Christianity*, he must needs embrace it. We, therefore, certainly conclude, that the Passage where *Josephus*, who was as much a *Jew* as the Religion of *Moses* could make him, is made to acknowledge that *Jesus is the Christ*, in as strong Terms as Words could do it^s, is a rank Forgery, and a very stupid one too^t.

We have now explained the Motives the Civil Magistrate had to *tolerate*: — Of what Nature that *Toleration* was: — And how easily it was brought about.

But then, lest the People should abuse this Right of worshipping according to their own Will, which the Magistrate supported for the Benefit of the State, to its Detriment, by Means of private and clandestine Conventicles; he always took Care that

^s — Ἰησοῦς, σοφὸς ἀνὴρ· εἶγε ἄνδρες αὐτὸν λέγειν ᾗς ἦν γὰρ θαυμάσιον ἔργων ποιητὴς. Διδάσκαλος ἀνθρώπων, ὃ ἡδονὴν τὰληθῆ δέχομεθα. — Ο ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ ΟΥΤΟΣ ΗΝ. — Ἐφάνη γὰρ αὐτοῖς τρίτην ἔχον ἡμέραν πάλιν ζῶν· ὃ θείων προφητῶν ταῦτα, καὶ ἄλλα μυστῆρα θαυμάσια περὶ αὐτοῦ εἰρηκότων. *Antiq.* xviii. 3. 3.

^t See a farther Proof of this Forgery, Vol. II. Book V. Sect. 4.

such

such Worship had the public Approbation and Recognition, before it was received on the Footing of a *tolerated* Religion.

So by the Laws of ATHENS, no *strange God*, or *foreign Worship* was allowed of, till approved and licensed by the Court of AREOPAGUS. This was the Reason why St. Paul, who was regarded as the Bringer in of *foreign Gods*, ΞΕΝΩΝ ΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΩΝ, was had up thither. Not as a Criminal, but rather as a public Benefactor, who had a *new Worship* to propose to a People, *above all others religious*, ΩΣ ΔΕΙΣΙΑΔΑΙΜΟΝΕΣΤΕΡΟΙ. Tully^v makes Solon the Founder of this Court. But Plutarch in his Life of that Lawgiver^w, contradicts this Opinion, and, in support of his own, quotes a Law of Solon's, which makes mention of the *Areopagus*, as before existing. The Difficulty is how to reconcile these two Accounts. I imagine this to be the Case: Solon, we know, was employed by the *Athenians* to new model their Commonwealth, by reforming the ill Constitutions, and supplying the defective Ones. So that in the Number of his Regulations, I presume, this was one; The adding to the Court of *Areopagus* the peculiar Jurisdiction in Question; as of great Moment to public Utility. And having thus enlarged and ennobled its Jurisdiction, he was afterwards regarded as the Founder of it. A Passage in *Æschylus* seems at first Sight not to favour this Opinion; but to insinuate, that the Jurisdiction in Question was coeval with the Court. For, in the fifth Act of his *Eumenides*, he makes the Worship of the *Furies*, or the *venerable Goddesses*, as they were called, to be received and recognized in *Athens*, by a Decree of *Minerva*, as

^v De Officiis, lib. 1. c. 22.

^w Vitæ parall. vol. 1. p. 194. Edit. Bryan.

Head of the College of *Areopagus*, which the Poet feigns she had just then instituted. But this plainly appears to have been contrived only for the Sake of a poetical Embellishment: And *Æschylus* seems to employ one Circumstance in this Scene, designedly to inform us of the Order of Time, in which the Court received its two different Jurisdictions. It is, where he makes the *criminal* Cause of *Orestes*, the first that was judged at this Tribunal; and the *Religious* One, of the Reception of the *Eumenides*, but the Second. However this be, the *Areopagus* was, by far, the most tremendous Judicature in the Republic. And it is observable, that *Aristophanes*, who spares neither the Fleets, the Armies, the Courts of Justice, the Person of the Supreme Magistrate, the Assemblies of the People, or the Temples of the Gods themselves, does not dare to lance one single Stroke against this venerable Body.

The ROMANS had a Law to the same Purpose; which, as often as it was violated, was publickly vindicated by the Authority of the State: as appears from the Words of *Posthumius* in *Livy*, quoted in the last Section. *Quoties hoc patrum avorumque ætate negotium est magistratibus datum, ut sacra externa fieri vetarent, sacrificulos vatesque foro, circo, urbe prohiberent, vaticinos libros conquirerent**? &c. Which shews their Care to have all *tolerated* Religions under the Magistrate's Inspection. And, if I am not much mistaken, *Tully*, in his *Books of Laws*, the Substance of which is taken from the *Twelve Tables*, gives us that very Law; whereby, as we said, all foreign and clandestine Worship, unauthorized by the Civil Magistrate, was forbid. SEPARATIM NEMO HABESSIT DEOS: NEVE NOVOS, NEVE ADVENAS,

* *Lib. 39. Hist.*

NISI PUBLICE ADSCITOS, PRIVATIM COLUNTO.
No Man shall worship the Gods clandestinely, or have them separately to himself: Nor shall any new or foreign God be worshipped by Particulars, till such God

y Lib. ii. c. 8. Thus I think the Words ought to be read and pointed. The common Reading is, *separatim nemo habessit Deos neve novos: sed ne advenas, nisi publicè adscitos, privatim colunto*: which is quite absurd and unintelligible. The Manuscript quoted by Manutius reads, *neve novos sive advenas*. In a word, this Law, for want of rightly apprehending the Nature of Paganism, and of their *tolerated* and *establisht* Religions, has never been understood by the Critics; nor does the Comment that follows, give any light to it. What hath been said above on these Points, will enable us to come to a very easy Meaning of it. By the first Branch, *separatim nemo habessit Deos*, is meant that the Gods in general should not be worshipped in private Conventicles, or be had, as it were, in Propriety (*suos Deos*, says the Comment) in a different Manner than the People commonly worshipped. And by the second Branch, *neve novos, neve advenas, nisi publicè adscitos, privatim colunto*, is meant that PARTICULARS should not worship any *new* or *foreign* God without Licence and Authority from the State. For we must remember what hath been said in the first Section of this Book concerning the two Parts of Pagan Religion; the one public, and the other private: the one, which had the *State* for its Subject; the other, *Particulars*. Now the *State*, as such, worshipped only the Country Gods; and this was properly the *establisht Religion*. The *Particulars*, as such, frequently grew fond of new and foreign Gods, and Modes of Worship: and these, when recognized by the State, were their *tolerated Religions*. *Privatim* therefore signifies [*by Particulars*] not [*privately*] which latter Sense would make a Contradiction in the Sentence: *Nisi publicè adscitos, privatim colunto*: *Let them not worship them PRIVATELY, unless they be PUBLICLY recognized*. For how could those be said to be *privately* worshipped, that were *publicly* owned? By *Deos novos*, both here and in the Comment, I suppose, is meant Gods newly become such: which in another Place he calls — *quasi NOVOS & adscriptitios cives in cælum receptos*. — *De Nat. Deor.* l. iii. c. 15. For the *Dii minorum gentium* were a kind of every-day Manufacture; such as Tully in the Words immediately following thus describes: *Ollos quos endo cælo merita vocaverint*; or, *those who had newly discovered themselves to Men*. And by *Advenas*, the known local Gods of other Countries.

both been legally approved of, and tolerated by the Magistrate. The Comment, as concise, and consequently as obscure as the Text, follows in these Words: SUOSQUE DEOS, AUT NOVOS, AUT ALIENIGENAS COLI, CONFUSIONEM HABET RELIGIONUM, ET IGNOTAS CEREMONIAS: NON A SACERDOTIBUS, NON A PATRIBUS ACCEPTOS DEOS, ITA PLACERET COLI, SI HUIC LEGI PARUERANT IPSI². *For each Man to have his Gods in peculiar, or to worship new or Stranger Gods, without*

² Lib. ii. c. 10. Thus I venture to correct the Passage. The common Editions have it, — *Non a sacerdotibus, non a patribus acceptos Deos, ita PLACET coli, si huic legi PARUERUNT ipsi.* Gruter says: “Ita me Deus amet, vix intelligo: hæreo, adhuc hæreo.” And none of the Critics have pretended to make Sense of it, but Petit in his Comment on the Attic Laws: “De advenis Diis (*says he*) sibi facit objici Tullius, an non liceat acceptos a Sacerdotibus aut a Patribus alienigenas Deos colere? Respondet Cicero, licere, si, prout hac cavebatur lege, publice sint adsciti, non priva patrum aut sacerdotum auctoritate. Hic igitur verborum Tullii sensus est, qui latet & lectores fugit, quia excidit interrogationis nota, loco suo restituenda & reponeunda ad hunc modum: *Suosque Deos, aut novos aut alienigenas coli, confusionem habet religionum, & ignotas ceremonias. Non a Sacerdotibus, non a Patribus acceptos Deos? Ita placet coli, si huic Legi PARUERINT ipsi.*” But as plausible as this appears at first, it cannot be the true Interpretation: For 1. Tully is made to object impertinently: for who, from the Words *neve novos, neve advenas, nisi publicè adscitos, privatim colunto*, could form any Suspicion that by this Law the Gods received by the Priests or their Forefathers, or by any else, were forbid to be worshipped, were they but publicly recognized? And those which were not so, were prohibited, from whatever Quarter they were brought in. 2. This Interpretation will not agree with the Cast and Design of the Work. Tully speaking of it says, *Non enim populo Romano, sed omnibus bonis firmisque populis leges damus.* Now this Objection, relating to the City of Rome only, was altogether impertinent and from the Purpose. — That the Sense I give to it is the true, appears from hence: 1. That the Observation was highly proper, being of the Nature of an Example to a Precept. He delivers a Law concerning the licensing new Religions by the Magistrate; and then takes notice that, had it been well observed in Rome, it had prevented

public

public Allowance, tends to confound all Religion, and introduce clandestine Worship: And had the Priests and our Forefathers had a due Regard to this Law, we should never have approved of that kind of Worship which we now pay to the Gods they introduced amongst us.

But notwithstanding all this, Mr. Bayle, from the Words above quoted from the Speech of *Posthumius* in *Livy*, would persuade us^a, that the *Romans* did not admit or tolerate foreign Worship;

a great deal of Superstition. All here is natural and just. 2. The frequent Breach of this Law was a very notorious and remarkable Fact in *Rome*; as we may see by the Speech of *Posthumius* in *Livy*, quoted above; and therefore very likely, in this Place to have been taken notice of by *Tully*. But he who considers what *St. Austin* says in his second Book of the *City of God* concerning the Actions told of the idolatrous Gods in their Public Worship at *Rome*, and the Lubricity of that Worship, will not be backward to admit the Sense here contended for. I will only observe farther, that as the general Sense of the Law justifies my Emendation in the *Comment*; so the Words, *aut novos, aut alienigenas*, in the *Comment*, confirm my Correction in the Law. — By *confusionem religionum* I suppose *Tully* to mean, such a Confusion of Worship, as would leave no Distinction between the established and tolerated Religions; and thereby reduce Religion in general to so impotent a State, as to be no longer serviceable to Civil Society: And by *ignotas ceremonias*, Ceremonies, which the Magistrate, by reason of their Celebration in private Conventicles, could not take any Account or Cognizance of: which might therefore be of great Prejudice to Society, by the Perpetration of all kinds of Immoralities, such as happened, on this very Account, in the Bacchanals at *Rome*; or foster Cabals of Faction, which might be hatched and hid in clandestine Meetings of Religion. In the remaining Words, the Author gives a plain Hint, that, had this Law been observed, many great Inconveniences of Superstition in the then established and tolerated Religions had been avoided; which he intimates plainly enough, their ignorant Forefathers and interested Priests had introduced, without Warrant from the State. To conclude, the Neglect of this Law in *Rome* was, as we observed, very notorious: and I make no question but it was chiefly owing to their not having a standing Judicature for that Purpose, as at *Athens*.

^a *Penf. div. c. 221.*

and that the Care of the Magistrate, there taken notice of by the Consul, was to prohibit all Religions, but the *established*: An Opinion which the whole *Roman* History disproves; where we find with what Facility the Magistrate, from Time to Time, tolerated all foreign Religions. The Care then *Posthumius* meant was surely that of preventing all clandestine Worship, unlicensed by the Magistrate: which appears even from that other Passage Mr. B. brings from *Livy* to support his Assertion: “Nec corpora modò affecta tabo, sed animos quoque multiplex Religio & pleraque externa invasit, novos ritus sacrificando, vaticinando *inferentibus in domos, quibus quæstui sunt* capti superstitione animi ^b.” But more particularly from the very Affair *Posthumius* was here engaged in. At the Time this Speech was made, the State was above Measure exasperated by the monstrous Enormities committed in the clandestine Rites of *Bacchus*: Yet it is observable, that, in the Edict passed in the very Height of their Resentment, the Right of Toleration is preserved inviolable: The Decree of the Senate providing, “That there should be no *Bacchanals* celebrated either in *Rome* or *Italy*. If any one should be possessed with a Belief that this Sort of Rite was due by Custom, and necessary, and that he could not omit the Celebration without Irreligion and Impiety, he should lay his Case before the City Pretor; the Pretor should consult the Senate, when there was not less than an Hundred in Council, to know if they approved of it. These Cautions observed, the Rites might be celebrated, provided that not more than five assisted at the Sacrifice, that they had no *common*

^b *Lib. 4. Hist.*

“Purse, no Priest, nor no Master of the Solemnities^c.”

As here the Magistrate's Care in expelling foreign Religions was to prevent clandestine Worship amongst the *tolerated*; so, at other Times, the same Care was employed in preventing those foreign Religions from mixing with the *Established*, as we are informed by *Valerius Maximus*^d. But neither in *that* Case, nor in this, was the Liberty of *Particulars*, to worship as they thought fit, at all infringed upon.

Dionysius Halicarnassens, that diligent Enquirer into the *Roman* Constitution, plainly distinguishes between their *established* and *tolerated* Religions. The Passage is remarkable; and will not only serve to overthrow Mr. B.'s Notion, but to furnish us with an Opportunity of explaining what is farther wanting for a perfect Knowledge of this Matter. His Words are these: “And this, “above all Things, raised my Admiration, that, “notwithstanding the vast Multitudes that throng “from all Parts to *Rome*, who must there, consequently, worship their own Gods, according to “their own Country Rites; yet the City never “adopted into the PUBLIC Religion any of these “foreign Worships; as is the Custom for many “other States to do^e.” Whence it appears,

^c — “Ne qua Bacchanalia *Romæ*, neve in *Italia* essent. Si “quis tale sacrum solenne & necessarium duceret, nec sine religione & piaculo se id omittere posse apud Prætorem urbanum profiteretur; Prætor Senatum consularet, si ei permis- “sum esset, quum in Senatu centum non minus essent, ita id “sacrum faceret, dum ne plus quinque sacrificio interessent; “neu qua pecunia communis, neu quis magister sacrorum, aut “sacerdos esset.” *Lib. 39.*

^d *Lib. i. c. 3.*

^e Καὶ ὁ πάντων μάλιστα ἔγωγε τεθαύμνω, καίπερ μυρίων ὄσων εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐπεληλυθόντων ἐθνῶν, οἷς πολλὴ ἀνάγκη σέβειν τὰς πα-

1. That

1. That all Strangers might freely worship in *Rome* according to their own Way; that such *Particulars* as were so disposed, might join with them; and that, besides these *tolerated* Religions, there was one *public* and *established*, which admitted of no foreign Mixtures. 2. We are not to understand the Author as if his Wonder was caused by the *Romans* having an *established*, *distinct* from the *tolerated* Religions; but, that they mixed, or introduced into the *established* few or no foreign Rites; which was very customary in the Cities of *Greece*: for those are the *other States*, which the Historian hints at. But modern Writers not penetrating into this Matter, where they saw the *Roman* Practice of admitting into their *public* Religion no *foreign* Worship, concluded wrongly that they allowed no *Toleration*; and where they saw the *Greek* Practice of naturalizing foreign Religions, by adopting them into their public Worship, as wrongly, that they had no *Establishments*. 3. The Words Η ΠΟΛΙΣ ΔΗΜΟΣΙΑ, are remarkable: He does not say the City did not admit of foreign Worship, but, that it did not admit of it *PUBLICLY*; that is, bring it into the *public* Religion of the State. For, as we observed before, Paganism had two Parts, the one public, and the other private: the *State*, as such, was the Subject of the one; and *Particulars*, as such, of the other. But they admitted it *privately*; that is, allowed *Particulars* to use foreign Rites, after the Magistrate's Licence had been obtained for that Purpose. So that the *established* Religion, every where, related to the *public* Part of Paganism; and the *tolerated* to the *private* Part. 4. The Historian

τρίτες θεὰς τοῖς οἰκοθεν νομίμοις, ἑδενὸς εἰς ζῆλον ἐλήλυθε τῷ ξενικῶν ἐπιτηδεύματων ἢ πόλις δημοσίᾳ, ὃ πολλοῖς ἤδη σωέειν παθεῖν.
Antiq. lib. ii.

observes

observes, that, in this Conduct, *Rome* differed from many other Cities, meaning the *Grecian*. And indeed it was less a Wonder than he seems to make it: For *Rome*, rising on its own Foundation, independent of, and unrelated to any other State, and early possessed with the high Fanaticism of Distinction and Empire, it would esteem its tutelary Gods more peculiarly appropriated to itself; and therefore reject all foreign Mixtures. On the contrary, the *Grecian* States, related to, and dependent on one another, would more easily admit of an Association and Combination amongst their tutelary Deities.

Such was the Nature of TOLERATION in the Pagan World; and this the wise Provision of Ancient Policy, while Civil Liberty kept its own. But when now Society began to degenerate, and *all*, preposterously, to submit to the Will of *one*; when the Magistrate came to have a Good distinct from that of the People; and Civil Peace was estimated, not by the Blessings it produced, but by the Degree of Subjection it imposed; then the fashionable System of Politics began to turn solely on the Maintenance of a Tyrant's Power: And he having observed, that, though the *Toleration* of Religion, under the Regulations above described, was evidently for the Advantage of Society; yet, as those Regulations were too apt, even in the best Times to be neglected, he thought it most expedient by a thorough *Uniformity*, and an absolute *Intolerance*, to cut off all Occasions and Opportunities of Mischief to himself from private Conventicles and Conventions.

Agreeably to this Scheme of Policy, we find *Mæcenat*, in *Dion Cassius*^f, dissuading *Augustus* from allowing any *Toleration* of Religion whatsoever: an

^f *Lib. Hist.* 52.

Indulgence, in this Respect, indisposing Men to the Government, and to the Civil and Religious Constitutions of their Country; which would give Birth to Cabals and Confederacies against the State: And concludes his Advice against *Toleration* in these remarkable Words: 'ΑΠΕΡ'ΗΚΙΣΤΑ ΜΟΝΑΡΧΙΑ ΣΥΜΦΕΡΕΙ; *as a Thing by no Means agreeing with Arbitrary Power.* And we find by *Tacitus*^s, that the Usurper followed it. Thus we see the famous Declaration of, *one King and one Religion*, is no new Maxim of modern Policy.

So noble an Origin had the Principle of *Intolerance*: And so iniquitous are the Adversaries of our holy *Religion*, to throw it upon *that*; when it plainly appears to have been the Offspring of *Civil Tyranny*; how well soever it may have been afterwards nursed by some Fathers of the Church.

Thus have I attempted to give a clear Account of the general Methods used by ancient Policy to inculcate and support Religion. Was I to speak, as I once intended, of those which particular Lawgivers and Magistrates employed for the distinct Use of their own peculiar Societies, the Truth we endeavour here to prove, would be greatly illustrated: But this, though the most curious Part of this Enquiry, must, by Reason of its disproportioned Length, be omitted to some fitter Opportunity. In the mean Time, I presume, more than enough has been given, even in those Parts that only manifest the Legislator's Care for Religion in general, to prove the Truth of our Proposition,

^s Actum & de sacris Ægyptiis Judaicisque pellendis: factumque patrum consultum, ut quatuor millia libertini generis ea superstitione infecta, quis idonea ætas in insulam Sardiniam veherentur, coercendis illic latrociniis, & si ob gravitatem cæli interissent, vile damnum: ceteri cederent Italia, nisi, certam antediem profanos ritus exuissent. *Tac. Annal.* l. ii. c. 85.

That, in the Opinion of ancient Policy, the Doctrine of a future State of Rewards and Punishments was indispensably useful to Civil Society. For having shewn that the Doctrine of a future State was an inseparable Part of Pagan Religion, and the sole Support of it, the proving their Care for Religion in general, proves their Care for this Doctrine in particular. Where it is worth observing, that, though the ancient Legislators erred from Truth, and differed from one another, even in the most momentous Points, concerning *Property, Marriage, Dominion, &c.* yet they all unanimously agreed in owning the Use, and propagating the Belief of a future State of Rewards and Punishments: than which a stronger Proof of its Necessity cannot, we presume, be well given.

We have now seen the close Connexion between *Civil Government* and *Religion*. The concluding Observation will still farther illustrate it. As divine as was that benevolent Spirit of Antiquity, above described, which set their Heroes upon cultivating the barbarous Manners of their fellow Creatures, and imparting to them all the Blessings of *Civil Life*, it hath yet been far exceeded by the Charity of these Ages, which send *Missionaries* into the farthest Regions of the East and West, with that inestimable Blessing, *the Tidings of the Gospel*. But nothing is Matter of more Grief to serious Men than the continued ill Success of this glorious Undertaking. Something sure must have been much amiss to defeat a Design which all Nature conspired to advance. This would be accounted for. The *Papist* and *Protestant* Missionaries have generally divided either *India* between them. The *Papists* go to Countries civilized; but giving a commentitious System of their own, instead of the Gospel of *Christ*, it is no Wonder the
Pagans

Pagans should be indisposed to change *old* Fables for *new*. The *Protestant* Missionaries carry indeed the true Gospel, into *America*, but without better Success. The Reason seems to be this. The Pagans *there* are Savages, without Civil Government, and consequently of very uncultivated Minds. Now *Christianity*, plain and simple as it is, and fitted in its Nature for what it was designed by its Author, requires an Intellect above that of a Savage to comprehend^h. Something then must be previous to it. And what is that but Civil Society? This is not at all to its Dishonour. And if it has sometimes happen'd, through the indefatigable Labours of these Missionaries, that Numbers of Savage Converts have been made, they could never continue and propagate the *Christianity* which they learnt, throughout their Tribes. But our Missionaries have always found the Work was to begin anew, and in a little Time, nothing left of their Predecessors Labours to advance upon. And if what we have said in this Book be true, *That Religion cannot long subsist without the Aid of Civil Government*, we are not to wonder at it. From hence we conclude they have begun at the wrong End: And that to make our

^h An intelligent Missionary seemed to see where the thing stuck, when he says, Pour ce qui est des conversions, qu'on peut faire de ces gens la touchant l'Evangile, on ne sauroit faire aucun fond sur eux. Ces Sauvages, de même que tous ceux de l'Amerique sont fort peu disposez aux lumieres de la foi, par ce qu'ils sont brutaux & stupides, & que leurs mœurs sont extrêmement corrompues, & opposées au Christianisme. *Nouvelle Decouv. dans l'Ameriq. Septr. par le R. P. Louis Hennepin Missionnaire Recollet & Notaire Apostolique à Utr. 1697. p. 221.* The corrupt Manners of the Savages here complained of, as indisposing them to the Gospel, we find, from this Writer and others, are of such a kind as arise only from the want of Civil Government; and which Civil Government every where rectifies; such as *Rapine, Cruelty, and promiscuous Mixtures.*

holy Religion rightly understood, much more to propagate and perpetuate it, they should first have taught these Savages the Arts of Civil Policy: From whence (besides the Advantages of that previous Knowledge abovementioned) would have resulted this farther Benefit, that Men so sensibly obliged, would have afforded the most favourable Attention to their Benefactors. As it is, I am afraid these Savages observing in the Missionaries (and they have Sense enough to observe that the *Europeans* keep many Things from them which it would be useful for them to know) a total Disregard of their temporal Concerns, will be hardly brought to think the Matters pressed upon them of much Importance, or the Teachers much in Earnest. The civilizing a barbarous People is in itself a Work of such exalted Charity, that to see it neglected, when a far nobler End than the Arts of Life may be procured by it, is Matter of the highest Astonishment. But it is partly owing to this, That many of the Missionaries have had too much of that Enthusiasm in their Temper, which disposes Men to an utter Contempt of all worldly Things: They are therefore so far from preaching up the Advantages of Society, and recommending civil Manners, that they are more disposed to throw aside their own, and comply with the dried Skins and parched Corn of the Savages. It is, in Part, likewise owing to the false and inhuman Policy of the *European* Colonies, which do all they can to keep the Natives in a Savage State; as imagining the Neighbourhood of a civil-policied People would be too formidable for them to hold up against. However this be, I dare venture to predict that no great Good will ever come of these Missions, 'till the two Projects of *Civilizing* and *Saving* be joined in one. The ancient Lawgivers

were

were as much superior to the modern Missionaries in the Execution, as these are to them in the Design. Those Sages saw plainly that Religion and Civil Policy were inseparable, and therefore always taught them together. The Experience of all Ages justified their Conduct, and the Truth on which they acted, gives us the most glorious Idea of Divine Providence, which hath so closely united our *temporal* and *spiritual Good*. The Sum of all is, that whoever would secure Civil Government, must support it by Religion; and whoever would propagate Religion, must perpetuate it by Civil Government.

B O O K III.

S E C T. I.

I N the Beginning of the last Book, I entred upon the Proof of my second Proposition; namely, THAT ALL ANTIQUITY WAS UNANIMOUS IN THINKING THAT THE DOCTRINE OF A FUTURE STATE OF REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS WAS NECESSARY TO THE WELL BEING OF SOCIETY: And the Method I laid down for proving it, was, 1. From *the Conduct of Legislators, and the Founders of Civil Policy.* 2. From *the Opinions of the wisest and most learned of the ancient Sages.*

The Conduct of the Legislators hath been fully examined in the last Book.

II. THE OPINION OF THE ANCIENT SAGES concerning this Matter, is the Subject of the *present.*

They too, as well as the Legislators, were unanimous on this Point, how discordant soever and at Variance amongst themselves, in all other Matters. Whatsoever Train of Politics the Historian followed, whatsoever System of Nature the Philosopher espoused; *this* always remained an unquestioned Principle. The Favourer of Arbitrary Power esteemed it the strongest Bond of blind Obedience; and the Vindicator of Civil Liberty, the largest Source of Virtue and a public Spirit. The

Philosophic Atheist, from the Vastness of its Use to Society, would conclude Religion to be but the Invention of Statesmen; and the Theist, from that acknowledged Utility, laboured to prove it of divine Original.

But to give the Reader a *Particular* of those Passages, where this Truth is owned and supported, would be to transcribe all Antiquity: For, with *this* begins and ends every thing they teach and tell of Morals, Politics, human Nature, and Actions. I shall therefore content myself with two or three Passages, as a Specimen only of the universal Voice of ancient Wisdom. *Timæus* the *Locrian*, a very early *Pythagorean*, well practised in Affairs, and, in *Plato's* Opinion, of consummate Knowledge in Philosophy, discoursing on the Remedies to moral Evil, after having spoken of the Use of Philosophy to lead well framed Minds to Happiness, by teaching the Measures of just and unjust, adds, that, for intractable Spirits, Civil Society was invented; which keeps Men in awe by the Coercions of Law and Religion: “ But
 “ if we come to a perverse ungovernable Disposition, then Punishments should be applied; both
 “ those which Civil Laws inflict, and those which
 “ the Terrors of Religion denounce against the
 “ Wicked from above and from below: as, that
 “ ENDLESS PUNISHMENTS await the Shades of
 “ unhappy Men; and all those Torments, which I
 “ commend the *Ionic* Poet for recording from
 “ ancient Tradition, in order to cleanse the Mind
 “ from Vice^a.

^a — Εἰ δὲ καὶ τις σκληρὸς καὶ ἀπειθὴς, τέταρτον δ' ἐπέσθω κόλασις, ἢ τ' ἐκ τοῦ νόμου καὶ ἢ ἐκ τοῦ λόγου σμίκτονα ἐπάγοισι δέματά τε ἐπαρσύνια καὶ γὰρ καθ' ἑδω, ὅτι κόλασις ἀπαρσύνηται δάπνην) δυσδαίμοσι νεφέλαις καὶ τὰλλα ὅσα ἐπαινέω τ' ἰωνικὸν ποιητὴν, εἰ παλαιὰς ποιητῶν τῶς ἐναγέας. Περὶ ψυχῆς κόσμου.

The sage Historian, *Polybius*, whose Knowledge of Mankind and Civil Society was so consummate, that *Rome* preferred him to the august Employment of composing Laws for *Greece*, now become a Province to that Republic, speaking of the Excellence of the *Roman* Constitution, expresseth himself in this Manner. “ But the superior Excellence
 “ of this Policy, above others, manifests itself,
 “ in my Opinion, chiefly in the religious Notions
 “ the *Romans* hold concerning the Gods: That
 “ Thing, which in other Places is turned to their
 “ Abuse, being the very Support of the *Roman*
 “ Affairs; I mean Superstition; which is come to
 “ such a Height, both in its Influence on Particu-
 “ lars, and on the Public, as cannot be exceeded.
 “ This, which many may think extraordinary, to
 “ me seems plainly to have been contrived for the
 “ sake of the Community. If indeed one were to
 “ frame a Civil Policy only for wise Men, ’tis
 “ possible this kind of Institution might not be
 “ necessary. But since the Multitude is ever fickle
 “ and capricious, full of exorbitant Passions, and
 “ irrational and violent Resentments, there is no
 “ Way left to keep them in Order, but by the Ter-
 “ rors of FUTURE PUNISHMENT, and the pompous
 “ Circumstance that belongs to such kind of Fi-
 “ ctions. On which Account the Ancients acted,
 “ in my Opinion, with great Judgment and Pe-
 “ netration, when they contrived to bring in these
 “ Notions of the Gods, and of a FUTURE STATE
 “ into the popular Belief; and the present Age as
 “ absurdly and inconsiderately, in removing them,
 “ and encouraging the Multitude to despise their
 “ Terrors. For see the Difference: In *Greece*, the
 “ Man that is entrusted with the public Money (to
 “ pass by other Matters) though it be but of a
 “ single Talent, and though he give a Ten-fold

“ Security before twice the Number of Witnesſes,
 “ cannot be brought to diſcharge his Engagements ;
 “ while, amongſt the *Romans*, the mere Religion
 “ of an Oath keeps thoſe, who have vaſt Sums of
 “ Money paſs through their Hands, either in the
 “ public Adminiſtration or in foreign Legations,
 “ from the leaſt Violation of their Honour and In-
 “ tegrity. And whereas, in other Places, it is rare
 “ to find a Man, who can keep his Hands clean,
 “ or forbear plundering his Country ; in *Rome* it is
 “ as rare to take any one offending in this Kind.
 “ That every Thing which exiſts is ſubject to
 “ Mutation and Decay, we need not be told ;
 “ the Nature of Things ſufficiently informs us of
 “ it. But there being two Ways, by which every
 “ kind of Policy is brought to Diſſolution ; the
 “ one from without, and the other from within ;
 “ that Deſtruction, which comes from without,
 “ cannot be certainly warded by any human Pro-
 “ viſion : But then, there are ſure and eaſy Re-
 “ medies for that which riſes from within ^b. ”

^b Μεγίστην δέ μοι δοκεῖ Διφθορὰν ἔχειν τὸ Ῥωμαίων πολιτεύμα
 πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον, ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ Θεῶν Διχαλίῃ. Καί μοι δοκεῖ τὸ
 αὐτὸ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις ὀνειδισθῆναι, τὸτο συνέχειν τὰ Ῥωμαίων
 πράγματα· λέγω ὅτι τὴν δεισιδαιμονίαν· ἐπὶ τοσούτον γὰρ ἐκτετρα-
 γώνηται καὶ παρεισῆκται τὸτο τὸ μέγεθος παρὰ αὐτοῖς εἰς τε τὰς κατ'
 ἰδίαν βίβας καὶ τὰ κοινὰ τὴν πόλεως, ὥστε μὴ καταλιπεῖν ὑπερβιβάς·
 ὃ καὶ δόξειεν ἂν πολλοῖς εἶναι θαυμάσιον· ἐμοὶ γε μὴν δοκεῖσι πολλοὶ
 χάριν τὸτο πεποιηκέναι. Εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἦν σοφῶν ἀνδρῶν πολιτεύμα συν-
 αγαγῆναι, ἴσως ἔδεν ἦν ἀναγκαῖον ὁ τοιοῦτος τρόπος· ἐπεὶ ὅτι πάν-
 τλήθους ἐστὶ ἐλαφρὸν καὶ πλήρες ἐπιθυμιῶν αὐθιγῶν, ὀργῆς ἀλόγης,
 θυμῶ βιαίῳ, λείπει τὸ τοῖς ἀσέλοισι φόβοις, καὶ τῇ τοιαύτῃ τραγωδίᾳ τὰ
 πλήθη συνέχειν. Διόπερ οἱ παλαιοὶ δοκεῖσί μοι τὰς αὐτῶν Θεῶν ἐν-
 νοίας, καὶ τὰς αὐτῶν ἐν αὐτῇ Διχαλίῃς οὐκ εἰκὴ καὶ ὡς ἔτυχεν εἰς τὰ
 πλήθη παρεισαγαγῆναι· πολὺν γὰρ μᾶλλον οἱ νῦν εἰκὴ καὶ ἀλόγως ἐν-
 βάλλουσιν αὐτὰ. Τοιαυτὴν χωρεῖ τὴν ἄλλων, οἱ τὰ κοινὰ χειρίζοντες,
 αὐτὰ μὲν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν, ἐὰν τάλατον μόνον πιστευθῶσιν, ἀντιγραφεῖς ἔ-
 χοντες δέκα, ἑσφραγίδας ἑσπέρους, καὶ μάρτυρας διπλασίους, ὅτι διώ-
 ανται τηρεῖν τὴν πίσιν· αὐτὰ γὰρ ὅτι Ῥωμαίοις οἱ καὶ τε τὰς δέχας καὶ τὰς

This

This long Passage deserves our serious Attention, and that for many Reasons. *Polybius* was a *Greek*, and, as all good Men are, a tender Lover of his Country, whose ancient Glory and Virtue were then fast on the Decline, and the *Roman* mounting to its Meridian. The melancholy Reflections, arising from this View, were always uppermost in his Thoughts: so that speaking here of the great Influence which Religion had on the Minds of the *Romans*, he could not forbear giving his Countrymen a Lesson, and instructing them in what he esteemed the principal Cause of their approaching Ruin; namely a certain Libertinism which had spread amongst the *People of Condition*, who piqued themselves on a Penetration superior to their Ancestors and the People, of regarding, and preposterously teaching others to regard, the Restraints of Religion as visionary and superstitious. This he proves by shewing the strong Influence Religion hath on the Morals of Mankind. But to understand what follows, *of the two Ways by which a State comes to Ruin, from without and from within*, which seems to be brought in abruptly, and to have no relation to the Subject in Hand, we must suppose that those, to whom the Historian addresses himself, had objected: *That it was not the Want of Piety, but the Force of the Roman Arms, that had broken the Grecian Power; and that this they were*

πρεσβείας πολὺ τι πλῆθος χρημάτων χειρίζοντες δι' αὐτῆς τ' ἑᾶς τ' ὅρκον πίστεως, τηρεῖσι τὸ καθήκον. Καὶ ὡρᾷ μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις πάντιόν ἐστιν εὐρεῖν ἀπεχόμηνον ἄνδρα τῷ δημοσίῳ, καὶ καθαρεύοντα περὶ ταῦτα. ὡρᾷ δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις πάντιόν ἐστι τὸ λαβεῖν τινα πεφωρομένον ἐπὶ τριαύτῃ πράξει. Ὅτι μὲν ἐν πάσι θεῖς ἔστιν ὑπόκειται φθορὰ καὶ μεταβολή, σχεδὸν δὲ προσδεῖ λόγος ἱκανὴ γὰρ ἡ τῆ φύσεως ἀνάγκη ὡρᾷ γῆσαι τὴν τοιαύτην πίσιν· δυοῖν δὲ τρόπων ὄντων καθ' ἑς φθείρεται πέφυκε πᾶν γένος πολιτείας, ὅ μὲν ἐξώθεν, ὅ δὲ ἐν αὐτοῖς φθορὰ· τὸ μὲν ἐκτὸς ἀσάλον ἔχειν συμβαίνει τῷ θεωρεῖν· τὰ δὲ ἐξ αὐτῆς τελευτῶν. *E Polyb. Historiarum, lib. vi. c. 54, 55.*

to submit to, because all Empires have their stated Periods. Suppose this, and then the political Reflection on the Fall of States, will have a high Propriety, and close Connection with what preceded; and is to this Effect: I agree with you, says *Polybius* to the Objectors, that Evils, coming to a State from without, cannot easily be provided against; but then those arising from within, have an easy Remedy. Now I take our Misfortunes to have proceeded from *these*: for had not a Want of Religion depraved the Manners of the *Grecian* People, the *Romans* had wanted both Pretence and Inclination to invade us; and therefore your trite Aphorism of *the Mutability of human Things* is altogether misapplied.

But had this great Man lived only one Age later, he would have seen large Occasion of addressing this very Admonition to the *Romans* themselves; when the same libertine Spirit forerun and contributed to the Destruction of *their* Liberties; and Religion had so lost its Hold of those, whom, in the Time of *Polybius*, it so entirely possessed, that *Cæsar* could dare, in full Senate, with a Degree of Licence unparalleled in Antiquity, to declare, that the Doctrine of a *future State of Rewards and Punishments* was all a groundless Notion. This was a dreadful Prognostic of *Rome's* approaching Ruin.

If *Polybius*, then, may be believed, though *Paul* may not, it might, one would think, be worth while for our *People of Condition* to look about them, and compute their Gains by such a Conduct: those of them I mean, if any such there be, who profess to love their Country, and yet as publicly despise the Religion of it. One of them, who did both in a very eminent Degree, and who would substitute a TASTE, instead of a *future State*, for the Government of the World, thus expresseth himself:
“ Even

“ Even *Conscience*, I fear, such as is owing to re-
 “ *ligious Discipline*, will make but a slight Figure,
 “ where this *TASTE* is set amiss. Amongst the
 “ *Vulgar* perhaps it may do Wonders: a *Devil*
 “ and a *Hell* may prevail, where a *Jail* and a *Gal-*
 “ *lows* are thought insufficient. But such is the
 “ Nature of the liberal, polished, and refined Part
 “ of Mankind; so far are they from the *mere Sim-*
 “ *plicity of Babes and Sucklings*, that, instead of ap-
 “ plying the Notion of a future Reward or Punish-
 “ ment to their immediate Behaviour in Society,
 “ they are apt much rather, through the whole
 “ Course of their Lives, to shew evidently that they
 “ look on the pious Narrations to be indeed no
 “ better than Children’s Tales and the Amusement
 “ of the mere *Vulgar*.^c” I will not now ask where
 was the *Religion*, but where was the *Civil Prudence*
 of this great Patriot? For if it be indeed true, as
 he confesses, that *a Devil and a Hell may prevail,*
where a Jail and a Gallows are thought insufficient;
 why would this *Lover of his Country* take off so ne-
 cessary a Restraint on the Manners of the Multi-
 tude? If he says he would not, I ask, Why then
 hath he publicly ridiculed it? Or was it indeed his
 Intention to make all his Fellow-Citizens *MEN OF*
TASTE? He might as well have thought of mak-
 ing them all *Lords*.

So absurd, so pernicious is the Conduct of our
 Free-thinkers, even admitting them to be in the
 right. But if, instead of removing the Rubbish of
 Superstition, they be indeed subverting true Reli-
 gion, and, what is more, a Religion extraordinarily
 revealed by God, what Name must we give to this
 Degree of Madness and Impiety?

On the whole, I fear we are in no right Way:
 Whether in the Public too we resemble the Pi-

^c *Characteristics*, vol. iii. p. 177. Edit. 3.

cture this sage Historian hath drawn of degenerated Greece, I leave to such as are better skilled in those Matters to determine.

The great *Geographer*, whose Knowledge of Men and Manners was as extensive as the habitable Globe, speaks to the same Purpose: “ The Multitude in Society are allured to Virtue by those enticing Fables, which the Poets tell of the illustrious Atchievements of ancient Heroes, such as the Labours of *Hercules* or *Theseus*; and the Rewards conferred by the Gods for well-doing. So again, they are restrained from Vice by the Punishments these are said to inflict upon Offenders, and by those^d Terrors and Threatnings, which certain dreadful Words and monstrous Forms imprint upon their Minds; or by believing that divine Judgments have overtaken evil Men. For it is impossible to govern Women and the common People, and to keep them pious, holy, and virtuous, by the Precepts of Philosophy: This can be only done by Superstition; which is raised and supported by ancient Fictions and modern Prodigies. Therefore the Fables of the Thunder of *Jupiter*, the *Ægis* of *Minerva*, the Trident of *Neptune*, the Thyrsus of *Bacchus*, and the Snakes and Torches of the *Furies*, with all the other *Apparatus* of ancient

^d *Strabo's* Words are — καὶ φόβος, καὶ ἀπειλὰς, ἢ ἀπὸ λόγων, ἢ ἀπὸ τύπων αἰσίων, *Fears and Threatnings by Words or dreadful Forms.* *Casaubon*, who corrected the last Word very justly, has given us no Explanation of the Allusion in this obscure Sentence. I am fully persuaded, the Author had in his Mind the dreadful Words spoken, and the Representations exhibited in the *Mysteries*, for the very Purpose the Author here mentions: So ἀπειλὰς refers to λόγων, and φόβος to τύπων αἰσίων. The Reader, who remembers what has been said in the Section of the *Mysteries*, in the foregoing Book, concerning this Matter, will be inclined to believe this to be the true Explanation of the Passage.

“ Theology, were the Engines which the Legisla-
 “ tor employed, as Bugbears, to strike a Terror in
 “ the childish Imaginations of the Multitude^e. ”

Lastly, Pliny the Elder “ owns it to be necessary
 “ to Society, that Men should believe the Gods
 “ concerned themselves in human Affairs ; and that
 “ the Punishments they inflict on Offenders, though
 “ sometimes late indeed, as from Governors busied
 “ in the Administration of so vast an Universe, yet
 “ are never to be evaded^f. ” Thus he, though an
Epicurean, but an *Epicurean* in his Senses. From
 whom we hear nothing like the mad Strains of *Lu-*
cretius, that all Religion should be abolished, as an
Enemy to the Peace of Mankind.

S E C T. II.

BUT to give this Matter the utmost Evidence,
 we will set together the *public Teaching*, and
private Sentiments of the ancient Theistical Philo-
 sophers, on the Point in Question. When it will
 be seen, that though they were perpetually incul-

^e Οἱ τε πολλοὶ τὰς πόλεις οἰκάντων εἰς μὲν προτροπὴν ἀγῶνας
 τοῖς ἡδέσι τῶν μύθων, ὅταν ἀκέωσι τῶν ποιητῶν ἀνδραγαθήματα μυθώδη
 διηγερέων· οἷον Ἡρακλῆος ἀθλούς, ἢ Θησέως, ἢ τιμᾶς ὧδ' ἢ θεῶν
 γεμομένων, — εἰς ἀπλοτροπὴν δ', ὅταν κολάσεις ὧδ' ἢ θεῶν, καὶ φόβους, καὶ
 ἀπειλάς, ἢ ἀπὸ λόγων, ἢ διὰ τύπων αἰσίων τινῶν προσδέχων, ἢ καὶ
 πεισίσωσι ἀπειπεσεῖν τινάς. Οὐ γὰρ ὄχλον τε γυναικῶν, καὶ πάντας
 χυδαῖα πλῆθους ἐπαγαγεῖν λόγῳ δυνατὸν φιλοσόφῳ, καὶ προσκαλέ-
 σαθ' πρὸς δόξαιαν, καὶ ὁσιότητα, καὶ πίσιν, ἀλλὰ δεῖ καὶ διὰ δεισι-
 δαιμονίας· τὸτο δ' ὅσα ἄνδρ' μυθοποιίας, καὶ τεραλείας. Κεραυνὸς γὰρ,
 αἰγίς, καὶ τεύχαινα, καὶ λαμπάδες, καὶ δράκοντες, καὶ θυρολόχα τῶν
 θεῶν ὅπλα, μῦθοι· καὶ πάντα θεολογία ἀρχαϊκή· ταῦτα δ' ἀπεδέξαντο
 οἱ τὰς πολιτείας καλῶς ἡσυχάζοντες μορμολύκας τινὰς πρὸς τὰς νηπιό-
 φροντας. *Strabo Geogr.* l. i.

^f Verum in his Deos agere curam rerum humanarum credi,
 ex usu vitæ est; pœnasque maleficiis aliquando feras, occu-
 pato Deo in tanta mole, nunquam autem irritas esse. *Hist. Nat.*
 l. ii. c. 7.

cating

cating to the People the Doctrine of a future State of Rewards and Punishments in their Discourses and Writings, yet they were all the while Philosophizing in private on other Principles. Which Conduct surely could be owing to nothing, but their indeed regarding the *Doctrine*, as the very Vitality of Religion, and the only Support of that Influence, which it has on the Minds of the Multitude; as they so frequently profess to think.

Now, though after having read their *History*, considered their *Characters*, and examined their *Writings* with all the Exactness I was able, it appeared to me, that these Men believed nothing of a future State of Rewards and Punishments, which they most industriously propagated in Society; and therefore on this, as well as on other Accounts, deserved that Asperity of Reflexion with which they are always treated by the *Sacred Writers*; yet the contrary having been so long and so generally taken for granted, and *their* real Opinions so often urged by our ablest Divines, as conformable and favourable to the *Christian* Doctrine of a future State; I suspect that what I have here said, will be esteemed, at first sight, an unreasonable and licentious Paradox.

Notwithstanding this, I hope to prove what I have advanced in the strongest and most unexceptionable manner. And as it is of great Moment to shew the Sense Antiquity had of the Use and Necessity of the Doctrine of a future State of Rewards and Punishments to Society; and as, in shewing *that*, I shall be enabled to clear up a very important Point in Antiquity, long involved in the Obscurity of Contradictions; I shall have my Reader's Pardon for the length of this Enquiry.

But to take off what I can from the general Prejudice, I shall, before I enter on the Matter, explain

plain what is meant by that *future State*, which, I suppose, the Theistical Philosophers did not believe. And this the rather, because the contrary Opinion has long continued unquestioned, through the lax and ambiguous Use of the Terms. Thus, because it was evident that all, or most of the Theistical Philosophers believed, as well as taught the *Immortality*, or rather the *Eternity* of the *Soul*, Men, familiar only with the Association of modern Ideas, concluded that they believed, as well as taught, the Doctrine of a *future State of Rewards and Punishments*.

To make the Reader, then, Master of the Question, it will be proper just to distinguish the several Senses, in which the Ancients conceived the *Permanency* of the human Soul; and to reserve the Explanation of them and their Assignment to their distinct Authors, for another Place.

This *Permanency* was either,

- I. *A simple Existence after this Life: Or,*
- II. *Existence in a State of Reward and Punishment, according to Men's Behaviour here.*

Each of these was two-fold.

Simple Existence was either,

- I. AN IMMEDIATE REFUSION OF THE SOUL, ON DEATH, INTO THE UNIVERSAL NATURE OR TO[^]EN, FROM WHENCE IT PROCEEDED:

Or, II. A CONTINUANCE OF ITS SEPARATE AND DISTINCT EXISTENCE, ON DEATH, FOR A CERTAIN PERIOD, BEFORE ITS REFUSION INTO THE TO[^]EN, IN A SUCCESSIVE TRANSITION THROUGH VARIOUS ANIMALS, BY A NATURAL AND FATAL, NOT MORAL DESIGNATION.

The

The *State of Rewards and Punishments* was either,

I. A STATE OF REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, *IMPROPERLY* SO CALLED; WHERE HAPPINESS AND MISERY WERE THE NATURAL AND NECESSARY CONSEQUENCES OF VIRTUE AND VICE; NOT POSITIVELY SO, OR BY THE ARBITRARY DESIGNATION OF WILL:

Or, II. A STATE OF REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, *PROPERLY* SO CALLED; WHERE THE HAPPINESS AND MISERY CONSEQUENT ON VIRTUE AND VICE, WERE THE POSITIVE AND FREE DESIGNATION OF WILL, AND NOT THE NECESSARY CONSEQUENCES OF THINGS.

The *last* is that Notion of a future State, which we have endeavoured to shew, is so useful to Society; which all the Lawgivers, Priests, and Philosophers publicly taught and propagated; and which the People throughout the whole Earth universally believed. Of this, the METEMPSYCHOSIS was an inseparable Part; and, what is more, accompanies it to this very Day, as appears from the Belief of the civilized *Gentiles* of the East.

It is A FUTURE STATE, then, OF REWARDS and PUNISHMENTS in general, that I undertake to prove the ancient Philosophers did not believe; and particularly the second and proper Notion of it. For as to the *first*, it was peculiar to the *Platonists*.

But before I proceed to explain the Principles of each Sect, it will not be improper to premise those *general Reasons*, which induced me to think *that the Philosophers did not always believe what they taught, and that they taught this Doctrine without be-*
lieving

lieving it. Whereby the Reader's Prejudice may be so much abated, as to attend fairly to the Proofs that are to follow. And as his chief Prejudice ariseth from the Philosophers having so much talked and wrote in Behalf of a future State of Rewards and Punishments; the three first of the following general Reasons will shew, 1. That they all thought it allowable to say one Thing, and think another. 2. That they perpetually practised what they thus professed to be lawful. And 3. That they practised it with regard to the very Doctrine in Question.

I. My *first* general Reason was, *that the ancient Sages held it lawful, for the public Good, to say one Thing when they thought another.*

We have described the Times of Antiquity very ill, if it does not appear from what we have said, that each People had the most religious Regard to the Laws and Constitutions of their Country. What raised this Veneration (natural to all Men, accustomed to a Form of Policy) to such a Height, was, evidently, the popular Prejudice in Favour of their Originals. For, as we have seen, their Founders all pretended to receive their several Civil Institutions from some *patron God*. At the same Time, with the *Civil Policy*, they established the *national Religion*; where the principal Worship's being paid to the *patron God*, gave Occasion for inventing that *public Part* of Religion, which we have explained above: Whereby, the State, as such, became the Subject of religious Worship.

This of Course, making the *national Religion* esteemed one of the most necessary and essential Parts of the *Civil Policy*, we are not to wonder that it should become an universal Maxim, embraced not only by *mere* Politicians, but by all the best and wisest of those Times, THAT EVERY ONE
SHOULD

SHOULD CONFORM TO THE RELIGION OF HIS COUNTRY. And how possessed Men were with the Reasonableness and Importance of it, may be seen from the Conduct of the great SOCRATES himself. He, sure, who made it the Business of his Life to search out and expose all Errors that related to human Conduct, was most likely to detect the Folly of this general Prejudice. Yet when he comes upon his Defence before his Judges; a Defence, in which he was so strictly mindful of Truth and Honour, that, when his Friends proposed to him several Ways of urging it, of confessed Efficacy for his Acquittal, he rejected all of them, because not so strictly conformable to the Rectitude of his Life; when he comes, I say, in his Defence to that Part of the Accusation, which charges him with attempting to overturn the popular Divinities, he declares it in the most solemn Manner, as his Opinion, that *every one should adhere to the Religion of his Country*. But if it should still be suspected, that he only here said what made best for his Defence, let us pursue him to his last Moments, retired amidst his philosophic Friends and Followers; and there we shall find him still true to this great Principle, in a Circumstance which hath much puzzled modern Writers to account for; I mean the requesting his Friends to sacrifice a Cock to *Æsculapius*: A piece of Devotion, on some Account or other, no Matter what, due from him, according to the Customs of his Country, which he had neglected to perform.

But for all this, no one, I believe, the least conversant in Antiquity, will take it into his Head that these Sages, because they held *every one should adhere to the Religion of his Country*, did not therefore see the gross Errors of the national Religions. But then it will be asked, why they should not think

think it lawful and reasonable to forsake Error, and embrace the Truth; especially when these very Sages spent all their Time and Studies, to persuade Mankind of the Importance of this Conduct in general to their Happiness?

The easy Explanation of the Riddle is this: The *Genius* of their national Religions taught them to conclude, THAT UTILITY AND NOT TRUTH WAS THE END OF RELIGION. And if we attentively consider *that Genius*, as occasionally explained in the several Parts of this Work, which was formed entirely subservient to the State, we shall not much wonder at their Conclusion.

And now not rightly distinguishing between *particular* and *general* UTILITY, between that which arises from the *illegitimate* Administration of Civil Policy, and the *legitimate*, they universally embraced this other false Conclusion, THAT UTILITY AND TRUTH DO NOT COINCIDE.

From this Principle, a third necessarily arose, THAT IT WAS LAWFUL AND EXPEDIENT TO DECEIVE FOR THE PUBLIC GOOD. This all the ancient Philosophers were full of: And *Tully*, from *Plato*, thinks it so clear, that he calls the doing otherwise NEFAS, a *horrid Wickedness*. The famous *Scævola*, the Roman Pontif, frankly declares his Opinion, as *St. Austin* tells us, *that Cities should be deceived in Religion*. The last mentioned Author goes on and says, *Varro de religionibus loquens, evidenter dicit, multa esse VERA, quæ vulgo scire non sit UTILE; multaque, quæ tametsi falsa sint, aliter existimare populum expediat*. Upon which the *Father* remarks, *Hic certe totum consilium prodidit SAPIENTIUM, per quos civitates & populi*

§ Expedire existimat falli in religione civitates. *De Civit. Dei*, l. 4. c. 10.

regerentur. As we go along, we shall find *this Principle* universally owned, and practised by the Theistical Philosophers. And *Macrobius*, informing us on what Subjects the Philosophers used this Licence of *lying for the public Good*, says it was concerning the SOUL and the *national Gods*: *Sciendum est tamen, non in omnem disputationem philosophas admittere fabulosa velut LICITA ; sed his uti solent, cum vel de ANIMA, vel de aëreis æthereisque potestibus, vel de ceteris Dīs loquuntur*^h. I would only observe, that it appears from hence, that the Principles, which induced the ancient Sages to deem it lawful to lye or deceive for the public Good, had no Place in the Propagation or Genius of the *Jewish and Christian Religions*.

II. My *second* general Reason was, *that the ancient Sages did actually say one Thing when they thought another.* This appears from that general Practice in the *Greek Philosophy*, of a TWO-FOLD DOCTRINE ; the EXTERNAL and the INTERNAL ; a *vulgar and a secret One.* The first openly taught to all ; and the second confined to a select Number. Nor were they different Doctrines, but one and the same that was handled thus differently ; *viz.* popularly and scientificallyⁱ. In which the Philosophers were as cautious how they revealed their arcane Opinions, as were the Teachers of the Mysteries ; and set about it with the same Solemnity^k. So that, as the right Apprehension of the Nature of

^h *In Somn. Scip. l. i. c. 2.*

ⁱ Duplex enim erat doctrinæ genus apud antiquas gentes, δημόσιος καὶ ἀπὸ κρυφίου, doctrina vulgaris & doctrina arcana ; idque non tantum ob diversitatem materiæ, sed eandem sæpe materiam duplici modo tractabant, populari & philosophica. *Archæol. Phil. l. i. c. 8.*

^k And in the same Form of Words :

Φησὶ γὰρ οἱς δέμῳ ἐστὶ, δύρα δ' ἐπίθεσθαι βεβήλοις.

So *Porphry* in *Eusebius* introduces his internal Doctrines.

the *double Doctrine* was the true Key to the ancient Greek Philosophy, several in the later Ages wrote Discourses *on the hidden Doctrines of the Philosophers*¹. But as these, which would have given us much Light, are all extinct, we must be content to grope out our Way, to the Original and End of the *double Doctrine*, as well as we are able.

For it is not enough for us, that this Method of Teaching was general amongst the Greek Philosophers. To bring it to our Point, we must prove it to have been invented for the *Good of Society*: And the rather, because the Original is little understood, it being generally supposed less legitimate than we make it; either a barbarous Love of Mystery and Obscurity; or a poor Littleness of Mind that delighted in Tricking. Toland, who made it the Business of a wretched Life, to shed his Malignity on every Thing that was great and venerable, sometimes^m supposes this *double Doctrine* the Issue of Craft and Roguery; at other times, a grave and wise Provision against the Outrage of Bigots, and the superstitious Vulgar. And a very different sort of Man, the celebrated Fontenelle, when he calls Mystery, which is the Consequence of the double Doctrine, *the Apanage of Barbarity*, seems to be equally mistaken. I shall shew first, that those, from whom the Greeks borrowed this Method of philosophising, invented it for the Service of Society. And Secondly, that those who borrowed it, employed it for that Purpose; however it might at length degenerate into Craft and Folly.

¹ *Zacynthus* scripsit τὰ ἀπορρητὰ τῆς φιλοσοφίας, referente Laertio, *Porphyrius* τῆς φιλοσοφίας τὰ ἀπορρητὰ, teste Eunapio in eju vita.

^m In a thing he calls, *Of the Exoteric and Esoteric Philosophy*. See his *Tetradymus*.

First, That all the Wisdom and Learning of the *Greeks* was brought or fetched immediately from *Egypt* is so unanimously acknowledged by themselves, that it is the best established Fact in Antiquity. Now *Herodotus*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Strabo*, *Plutarch*, and indeed who not? all testify that the *Egyptian* Priests, with whom the Learning of the Place resided, had a two-fold Philosophy, the one hidden and sacred, the other open and vulgar.

To know their *End* in this Method of teaching, we must consider their *Character*. *Ælian* tells usⁿ, that in the most early Times, the *Priests*, amongst the *Egyptians*, were *Judges* and *Magistrates*. The Care of the People then must needs be their chief Concern under both Characters. And as well what they divulged, as what they concealed, must be equally and altogether for the sake of Society. Accordingly we find them to have been the first who taught Intercourse with the Gods, a future State of Rewards and Punishments, and Initiation into Mysteries, instituted for the Support of that Belief: The *Συμπόλαια* of which were the Doctrines of the Unity.

But to give this Truth the utmost Evidence, namely that it was for the sake of the State, that the Method of the *double Doctrine* was invented, we shall produce the Testimonies of *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and *Plutarch*, who both tell us, that it was chiefly to their Kings and Magistrates, to whom the secret Doctrines of the College were revealed. *The Egyptians* (says *Clemens*) *did not use to reveal their Mysteries indiscriminately to all; nor expose their sacred Truths to the Profane; but to those only who were to succeed to the Administration of the State: and to such of the Priests as were most approved by*

ⁿ *Var. Hist.* l. xiv. c. 34.

their

their Education, Learning, and Quality°. “The
 “Kings were chosen (says *Plutarch*) either out of
 “the Priesthood, or the Soldiery. *This Order for*
 “their Valour, and *that for their Wisdom, were had*
 “in Honour and Reverence. But when one was
 “chosen out of the Soldiery, he was forthwith had
 “to the College of the Priests, and instructed in
 “their secret Philosophy; which involves many
 “Things in Fables and Allegories, where the Face
 “of Truth is clouded and obscured p.”

And in the same Manner, and with the same View, the *Magi of Persia*, the *Druids of Gaul*, and the *Brachmans of India*, the genuine Offspring of the *Egyptian Priests*, and who like them shared in the Administration of the State, had all their *external and internal Doctrines*^q.

What hath misled both ancient and modern Writers to think the *double Doctrine* to be only a barbarous and selfish Art of keeping up the Reputation of the Teacher, was a prevailing Opinion, that moral and natural Truths were concealed under the ancient Fables of the Gods and Heroes. For then, these Fables must have been invented by the ancient Sages; and invented for the sake of explaining them, and nothing more. So the learned Master of the Charter-house, taking it for granted that the Sages were the Inventors of the ancient

° Αἰγύπτιοι ἔ τοῖς ἐπιτυχῶσι τὰ ᾧδ' ἀ σφίσιν ἀνελίθετο μυσθήρια
 ἔδ' ἐ μὲν βεβήλοισ τ' τ' θείων εἰδῆσιν ἐξέφερον, ἀλλ' ἢ μόνους γε τοῖς
 μέλλουσιν ἐπὶ τ' βασιλείαν προΐεναι· καὶ τ' ἱερέων τοῖς κρείττεσιν ἐπὶ
 δοκιμωτάτοις δ' αὖτε τ' τροφῆς, καὶ τ' παιδείας καὶ τ' γῆρας. *Strom.*
 l. v. p. 566. Ed. Lut.

p Οἱ ὅ βασιλεῖς ἀπεδείκνυντο μ' ἐν τ' ἱερέων ἢ τῶ μαχίμων, τ'
 μ' δὲ ἀνδρείαν, τ' ὅ δια σοφίαν, γῆρας ἀξίωμα, καὶ τιμῇ ἐχούσιν·
 ὁ ὅ ἐν μαχίμων ἀποδείκνυντο δ' αὖτ' ἐγένετο τῶ ἱερέων, καὶ μετέχουσιν
 τ' φιλοσοφίας ἐπικεκρυμμένης τὰ πολλὰ μύθοις καὶ λόγοις ἀμυδραῖς ἐμ-
 φάσεις τ' ἀληθείας καὶ ἀλαφρείας ἔχουσιν. *De Is. ἔ Os. p. 631.*
Steph. Ed.

^q *Orig. cont. Celsum, l. i.*

Mythology, concludes that one of these two Things was the Original of the double Doctrine: *Sive id factum fuerit pro ingenio priscorum hominum, maxime orientalium; sive ut ea, quæ pulchra erant, difficilia redderent, neque primo intuitu discernenda*^r. But that sure is an idle Hypothesis of the later Greek Philosophers. The old Pagan Mythology was indeed only the Corruption of ancient historical Tradition; and consequently arose from the People, whose Follies and Prejudices gave Birth to the *double Doctrine*, to be employed for their Service. But what it was that facilitated its Use, we shall see hereafter, when we come in the fourth Book, to speak of the *Egyptian Hieroglyphics*.

Secondly, We are now to shew that the Greeks, who borrowed this Method of the *double Doctrine*, employed it to the same Uses with the Egyptians, who invented it.

1. The first who went out of Greece to learn the Egyptian Wisdom, were the LEGISLATORS: Or such as, projecting to reduce the scattered Tribes, which then over-ran Greece, into Civil Society, travelled thither to learn the ART OF LAW-GIVING, from a People the most celebrated of all for that Knowledge. These, as Orpheus, Rhadamanthus, Minos, Lycaon, Triptolemus, and others, busied themselves with nothing of the Egyptian Wisdom, but this only: and received the *double Doctrine* along with it; as appears from their instituting the *Mysteries*, where that Doctrine was practised, in their several Civil Establishments.

2. The next sort of Men who went thence to Egypt for Instruction (though the Intercourse of the Law-givers with Egypt was not interrupted, but continued down to the Times of Draco, Ly-

^r *Archæol. Phil.* c. iii. l. 1.

curgus, and *Solon*) were the NATURALISTS; who, both at the Beginning and the End of their Period, bore the Name of *Sophists*. For now *Greece* being advanced from a savage barbarous State, to one of Civil Policy, the Consequence of which was the Cultivation of the Arts of Life, the Inhabitants began to speculate. But *Physicks* and *Mathematics* were all the Employment of their early *Sophists*, such as *Thales*, *Anaximander*, *Anaximenes*, *Xenophanes*, *Parmenides*, *Leucippus*, and *Pherocydes Syrus*. For which these two Reasons may be assigned: 1. As these Studies, all along, appeared to be best fitted to the refined, curious, inquisitive Temper of that People, this Post, as of greatest Honour, would be first seized. 2. *Greece* was at that Time over-run with petty Tyrants, the Descendents of their ancient Heroes, which made it unsafe to turn their Speculations on Morals, in which Politics were so eminently contained, and made so principal a Part. For *Thucydides* tells us^s, that when now the Power of *Greece* was enlarged (that is on their coming out of a State of Barbarity) and their Revenues by Accession of Wealth much increased, in most of the Cities Tyrannies were erected. All then that these learnt of the *Egyptians*, was PHYSICAL AND MATHEMATICAL KNOWLEDGE: And as in the Cultivation of these there was little Occasion for, so their Character of mere Naturalists made them have less Regard to, the double Doctrine. And in effect, we find little mention of it amongst the first *Greek Sophists*, who busied themselves only in these Enquiries.

^s Δυνατώτερος ἡ νομομένη τῇ Ἑλλάδι, καὶ τῇ χρημάτων ἡ κτήσῃ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ πρῶτον ποικίλης, τὰ πολλὰ τυραννίδες ἐν αἷσι πόλεσι καθίσταντο, τῶν πρῶτων μεγόνων γιγνομένων. *Hist.* l. 1.

3. The last Sort of People, that went to *Egypt* for Instruction, were the PHILOSOPHERS, properly so called. A Character exactly compounded of the two preceding, the *Lawgiver* and the *Naturalist*. For when now the *Grecian* States had in Process of Time recovered their Liberties, MORALS, public and private, would become the Subject in Fashion. From this Time the *Greek Sophists* were violently given to Legislation, and became actually employed to make Laws for the several emerging popular Governments. On which Account it was, that *Aristotle* observed, *the best Lawgivers in ancient Greece, were amongst the middle Rank of Men*. The first (as well as most famous) of this Class, and who gave it its Name and Character, was *Pythagoras*. He, and *Plato*, and others travelled into *Egypt*, like their Predecessors. But now having joined in one the two different Studies of Lawgiving and Philosophy, a slight Tincture of *Egyptian* Instruction would not serve their Purpose; to complete their Character, there was a Necessity of being thoroughly imbued with their most recondite Wisdom. Accordingly the Ancients tell us^t, of their long Abode in *Egypt*, their hard Conditions of Admittance into the sacred College, and their bringing away with them all the secret Wisdom of the Priesthood. The Result of all was, and it is very remarkable, that from this Time the *Greek Sophists*, now called *Philosophers*, began to cultivate, at the very same Time, *the Belief of a future State of Rewards and Punishments*, and *the Practice of the double Doctrine*, which two Principles were the distinguishing Badges of their Character.

Thus by an intimate Acquaintance with the *Egyptian* Priesthood, the *Greeks*, at length, got a-

^t *Porph. de Vita Pythag.* — *Strabo de Platone*, l. 17. *Geogr.* — *Origen. Comm. in Ep. ad Rom.* c. iii.

amongst themselves a new Species of Sages, whose Character much resembled that of their Masters. But with this Difference, that amongst the *Egyptian* Priests, and so amongst the *Magi*, the *Brachmans*, and the *Druids*, Philosophy was but an *Appendix* to Legislation; while amongst the *Greeks*, Legislation was the *Appendix* to Philosophy. For Philosophy was the first Acquest and Study of the *Greek* Sages, and Legislation of the *Egyptian*. There was yet another Difference; which was, that in the *Greek Philosopher*, the two Characters of Legislator and Philosopher were always kept distinct, and conducted on contrary Maxims; whereas in the *Egyptian Priest*, they were one and undistinguished. So that in *Greece*, the *bidden Doctrines* of the *Mysteries*, and the *ἀπορρήτα* of the *Schools*, though sometimes founded by one and the same Person, as by *Pythagoras*, were two very different things; but in *Egypt*, one and the same.

Greece was now well settled in popular Communities; and yet this legislating Humour still continued in her Philosophers. And when they had no more Work, they still kept on the Trade; and from practical, became speculative Lawgivers. This gave birth to a deluge of visionary Republics, as we may see in *Diogenes Laertius*; where, in the several Catalogues of their Works, one is always as sure to find a Treatise *de Legibus*, or *de Republica*, as a Treatise *de Deo*, *de Anima*, or *de Mundo*.

But of all the Sects, the *Pythagoreans* and *Platonists* continued longest in this Humour. The *Academic* and *Stoic*, indulging to the disputatious Genius of the *Greek* Philosophy, struck out into a new Road; and began to cultivate the last great Branch of Philosophy, *Logic*; especially the *Stoics*, who, from their great Fondness to it, were surnamed *Dialectici*.

The Reader hath here a short View of the Progress of the *Greek Philosophy*; which *Plato* aptly divided into *PHYSICS*, *MORALS*, and *LOGIC*^v. We have shewn the Order of their birth: The Study of *Physics* and *Mathematics* began while *Greece* groaned under its petty Tyrants: *Morals* public and private arose with their Civil Liberties: And *Logic*, when they had contracted a Habit of Disputation and Refinement.

But when now the Liberties of *Greece* began to be again shaken by Tyrants of greater Form and Power, and all the Posts of Honour were occupied and possessed by the Sects above mentioned, some ambitious Men amongst them, as *Epicurus*, returned back into the original old fashioned Road of *Physics*, rejecting all *Politics*, *Legislation*, and *Logic*; and accordingly (which deserves our notice) rejected with *them*, the Use of the *double Doctrine*^w, as of no Service in their Reform. This evidently shews it to have been employed for the sake of Society: For was it, as *Toland* would pretend, *for their own*, it could never be employed more properly than in *Physics*; because the celestial Bodies being amongst the popular Gods, physical Enquiries concerning their Nature, could hardly escape the public Odium: And *Plutarch* tells us how heavily this fell both upon *Protagoras* and *Anaxagoras*^x.

^v Μέγην ὃ φιλοσοφίας τέλει, ΦΥΣΙΚΟΝ, ΗΘΙΚΟΝ, ΔΙΑΛΕΚΤΙΚΟΝ. *Diog. Laert. Proæm.* § 18.

^w *Clemens Alex.* indeed, *Strom.* 5. says, that the Epicureans bragged they had their Secrets, which it was not lawful to divulge; but this was plainly only arrogating to themselves a Mark of Philosophy, which those, to whom it really belonged, had made venerable.

^x Ὁ γὰρ πρῶτος σαφέστατον γε πάντων καὶ θαρρῆλαλέωτατον περὶ Σελήνης καὶ αὐτῆς καὶ σελήνης λόγων εἰς γραφὴν κατεθέμενος Ἀναξαγόρας, ὅτι αὐτὸς ἦν παλαιός, ὅτε ὁ λόγος ἐνδοξός, ἀλλ' ἀπὸρρητός ἐστι, καὶ δι' ὀλίγων καὶ μετ' ὀλίγων τινος ἢ πίστεως βαδίζων.

Notwith-

Notwithstanding this, the *first* Philosophers, and the *last*, both of whom dealt only in *Physics*, equally rejected the *double Doctrine*. On the other hand, the legislating Philosophers, who dealt much in Nature too, employed *this* very *Doctrine* even in natural Enquiries: as appears from what is said of *Pythagoras* concerning Earthquakes; who told the People, that they were occasioned by a Synod of Ghosts assembled under Ground^y. But *Jamblicus*^z informs us, that he sometimes predicted Earthquakes by tasting of Well-water^a.

ὁ γὰρ ἡμείχοντο τὰς φυσικὰς καὶ μετεωρολέχας τότε καλεσμένους ὡς εἰς αἰτίας ἀλόγους καὶ διωάμεις ἀπερροήτους καὶ καὶ ἰννασκασμένα παῖθι Διγ-
τρέποντας τὸ θεῖον· ἀλλὰ καὶ Πρωταγόρας ἔφυγε, καὶ Ἀναξαγόραν
εἰρχθέντα μόλις διεποιήσατο Περικλῆς. Vit. Nicæ.

^y *Ælian. Var. Hist.* l. iv. c. 17.

^z *Jamblicus Vit. Pythag.* l. i. c. 23.

^a One scarce meets with any thing in Antiquity concerning *Pythagoras's* Knowledge in *Physics*, but what, when attentively considered, gives us fresh Cause to admire the miraculous Sagacity of that prodigious Man. This Story of his *predicting Earthquakes*, has so much the Air of a Fable, that I believe it has been generally ranked, as it is by *Stanley*, with the Abundance of that idle Trumpery, which the enthusiastical *Pythagoreans* and *Platonists* of the lower Ages have raked together concerning him. Yet a late Relation, which I am about to quote, has fully vindicated the Truth of it; and Posterity, that could not profit by his Knowledge, has at least confirmed the Veracity of his History. *Paul Dudley Esq.* in the *Phil. Trans.* N^o 437, p. 72. speaking of an Earthquake which lately happened in *New England*, hath these remarkable Words:— *A Neighbour of mine that has a Well 36 Feet deep, about three Days before the Earthquake, was surprized to find his Water that used to be very sweet and limpid, stink to that degree that they could make no Use of it, nor scarce bear the House when it was brought in; and thinking some Carrion was got into the Well, he searched the Bottom, but found it clear and good, though the Colour of the Water was turned wheyish, or pale. In about seven Days after the Earthquake, his Water began to mend, and in three Days more returned to its former Sweetness and Colour.*

It appears then, on the whole, that the double Doctrine was used *for the Sake of Society*; their high Notions of which made them conclude this Practice to be not only innocent, but laudable: Whereas, were the Motive either love of Mystery, of Fraud, or of themselves, it cannot be reconciled to any of their several Systems of *private Morals*.

III. My *third general Reason* was, that the ancient Sages seemed to practise the *double Doctrine*, in the Point in Question. For I have observed, that those *Sects* which joined *Legislation* with *Philosophy*, as the *Pythagoreans*, *Platonists*, *Peripatetics*, and *Stoics*, always professed the Belief of a future State of Rewards and Punishments: While *those*, who *simply philosophised*, as the *Cyrenaic*, the *Cynic*, and the *Democritic*, publicly professed the contrary. And where those of the legislating Class were more or less in the Practice of that Art, they were more or less in the Profession of a future State. As on the one Hand, the *Pythagoric* and *Platonic*, on the other, the *Peripatetic* and *Stoic*, nay in one and the same Sect, as the *Peripatetic*, or *Stoic*, where a Follower of it studied Legislation, he professed this Belief; where he confined himself to private Morals, or abstract Speculations, he rejected it. So amongst the *Stoics*, *Zeno* was a great Propagator of it; while *Epictetus* absolutely denied it. And *Seneca*, who was but a Mongrel, seems willing to expose the whole Mystery. For in those Parts of his Writings, where he strictly philosophises, he denies a future State; and in those, where he affects the Preacher or Politician, he maintains it. And having said what he thought fit in Behalf of it, is not ashamed to add: *Hæc autem omnia ad MORES spectant, itaque suo loco posita sunt: at quæ à DIALECTI-*

CIS contra hanc opinionem dicuntur, segreganda fuerunt: & ideo seposita sunt^b. As much as to say, the Doctrine was preached up as useful to Society, but intenable by Reason. One might push this Observation from Sects to Particulars. So *Xenophon* and *Isocrates*, who concerned themselves much in the Public, declared for it; and *Hippocrates* and *Galen*, who confined themselves to natural Studies, against it.

This enervates what might be urged for the common Opinion, from those many Professions in the Writings of the Theistical Philosophers, in Favour of a future State of Rewards and Punishments, as shewing those were only Part of the *external* or popular Doctrines of such Sects. It may likewise help to explain and reconcile an infinite Number of Discordances in their Works in general, and more especially on this Point, which are commonly, though I think falsely, attributed to their Inconstancy. What endless Disputes have there been amongst the Learned, since the Revival of Letters, about what *Plato*, *Aristotle*, and the *Stoics* held of the Soul. But it was not the Moderns only who found themselves at a Loss; sometimes the Ancients themselves were embarrassed. *Plutarch* complains heavily of the *Repugnances of the Stoics*: and, in his Tract so entituled, accuses *Chrysippus* for laughing, one while, at the Doctrine of a future State of Rewards and Punishments, as a *Mormo*, fit only to frighten Women and Children; and another while for affirming seriously, that, let Men laugh as they would, the Thing was a sober Truth.

IV. My *fourth* general Reason is gathered from the Opinion that Antiquity itself seems to have had of its Philosophers on this Point. Their gravest

^b Ep. 103.

Writers (as we may see in Part, by the Quotations in the Beginning of this Book from *Timæus* the *Locrian*, *Polybius*, and *Strabo*) are full of Apologies for the national Religions; that is, for what was taught therein, concerning a Providence *here*, and especially the Doctrine of a future State of Rewards and Punishments *hereafter*. They pretend that these Things were necessary to keep the People in awe; but frankly own, that, was Society composed all of wise Men, *the Religion of the Philosophers*, which inforces Morality by Considerations drawn from the Excellence of Virtue, the Dignity of our Nature, and the Perfection of the Soul, would be a fitter and more excellent Way to Good. Now here, the *national Religions*, as they taught a Doctrine of a future State, being opposed to the *Religion of the Philosophers*, which employed other Motives; I conclude, that, in the Opinion of these Apologists, the Philosophers did not really believe *this Doctrine*.

V. My *last general Argument* against the common Opinion, is collected from an extraordinary Circumstance in the *Roman History*. *Cæsar*, in his Speech to the Senate, to dissuade them from capitally punishing the Followers of *Catiline*, argues thus: *that Death was no Evil, as they, who inflicted it for a Punishment, imagined and intended it*. And thereon takes Occasion, with a Licentiousness 'till then unknown to that august Assembly, to explain and inforce the *avowed Principles of Epicurus* (of whose Sect he was) concerning the *Mortality of the Soul*^c. Now when *Cato* and *Cicero*, who both

^c De pœna, possum equidem dicere id quod res habet; in luctu atque miseriis, mortem ærumnarum requiem, non cruciatum esse; eam cuncta mortalium mala dissolvere; ultra neque curæ, neque gaudio locum esse. *Cæsar apud Sall. de Bell. Catilin.*

urged the Death of the Conspirators, come to reply to his Argument for Lenity; instead of opposing the Principles of that Philosophy by the avowed Principles of a better, they content themselves with only saying, that *the Doctrine of a future State of Rewards and Punishments was delivered down to them from their Ancestors*. Cæsar (says Cato) *bene & compositè paulo ante, in hoc ordine, de vita & morte disseruit, credo falsa existumans ea quæ de inferis MEMORANTUR*^d: Without giving one Reason, so much as his own Opinion, to support it. Cicero's Reply is to the same Purpose: *Itaque ut aliqua in vita formido improbis esset posita, apud inferos ejusmodi quædam illi ANTIQUI supplicia impiis constituta esse voluerunt: quòd videlicet intelligebant, his remotis, non esse mortem ipsam pertimescendam*^e: From this cold Manner of evading the Argument, by opposing to it only the Opinion of their Ancestors, I conclude, that these two great Patriots were conscious that the real Opinion of the ancient Philosophy would not help them out: For nothing could be more illogical than their Reply, it being evidently *that Authority of their Ancestors*, which Cæsar opposed with the Principles of the Greek Philosophy. Here then was a fair Challenge to a philosophic Examination; and can we believe, these two Patriots would have been less favourably heard, while they defended the Doctrine of a future State on the Principles of Plato and Zeno, so agreeable to the Opinions of their Ancestors, than Cæsar in overthrowing it on the System of Epicurus? Or was it of small Importance to the State, that an Opinion, which Tully, in the Words above, tells us was established by their Ancestors for the Service of

^d *Apud eundem.*^e *Orat. IV. in Catilin. § 4.*

Society, should be shewn to be conformable to the Conclusions of the most creditable Philosophy? For all this, as we say, instead of attempting to prove *Cæsar* a bad Philosopher, they content themselves with only hinting that he was a bad Citizen. We must needs conclude then, that these two learned Men were sufficiently apprized, that the Opinion of their Ancestors was unsupported by the *real* Opinion of *any* Greek *Sect* of Philosophy; whose *popular* Profession of it would have been to no purpose to have urged against *Cæsar*, and such of the Senate as were instructed in these Matters; because the Practice of the *double Doctrine*, and the Part to which this Point belonged, was a Thing well known to them.

It may be true, that in *Cato*, who was a rigid *Stoic*, the Observation will conclude only against one *Sect*, but it will conclude very strongly: for *Cato* was so far from thinking that the Principles of that Philosophy should not be brought into the Conclusions of State, where it could be done with any Advantage, that he was even for having public Measures regulated on the Standard of their *Paradoxes*; for which he is sharply ridiculed by *Cicero* in his Oration for *Muræna*. He could not then, we must believe, have neglected so fair an Opportunity of employing his beloved Philosophy upon *Cæsar's* Challenge, would it at all have served his Purpose.

But though *Cato's* Case only includes the *Stoics*, *Cicero's*, who made use indifferently of the Principles of any *Sect* to confute the rest, includes them all. It will perhaps be said, that the Reason why *Tully* declined replying on any philosophic Principles, was because he thought the Opinion of their Ancestors the strongest Argument of all; having *so* declared it, in a more evident Point,
the

the very *Being of a God* itself: IN QUOD MAXIMUM EST MAJORUM NOSTRORUM SAPIENTIA, *qui sacra, qui ceremonias,*^f &c. But it is to be observed, that this was spoken to the People, and recommended to them as an Argument they might best confide in; and therefore urged with *Tully's* usual Prudence, who always suited his Arguments to his Auditors, while the Words under Question were spoken in the Senate to an Audience, which, as we shall see by what follows, and as we may partly see by what went before^g, had, at that Time, a great Affectation to philosophise. And how much this Kind of Disputation pleased *Cicero*, appears by the Apology he made for it, in his Oration for *Muræna*: *Et quoniam non est nobis hæc Oratio habenda aut cum imperita multitudine, aut in aliquo conventu agrestium, audacius paulo de studiis humanitatis, quæ & mihi & vobis nota & jucunda sunt, disputabo*^h.

S E C T. III.

HAVING premised thus much to clear our Way, and abate the Prejudices against a new Opinion, I come now to a particular Examination of *each Sect* that hath been supposed to believe the Doctrine of a future State of Rewards and Punishments.

The ancient *Greek* Philosophy may be all ranged in the ELEATIC, the ITALIC, and the IONIC Lines. The *Eleatic* Line was wholly composed of Atheists of different Kinds; as the *Democritic*, the *Pyrrhonian*, the *Epicurean*, &c. so these come not

^f *Orat. pro Milone.* ^g Namely, by *Cæsar's* running into that way, which, otherwise, a Man, who knew the World so well, would scarce have done.

^h Sect. 29.

into our Accounts. All in the *Italic* Line, derive from PYTHAGORAS, and swear in his Name. All in the *Ionic*, till SOCRATES, busied themselves only in Physics, and are therefore likewise out of the Question: He it was that first brought Philosophy out of the Clouds, to a clear Contemplation of human Nature; and founded the *Socratic School*, whose Subdivisions were the PLATONIC or *Old Academic*, the PERIPATETIC, the STOIC, the MIDDLE, and the NEW ACADEMY.

As to *Socrates*, this Character is delivered of him by *Cicero*, that *He was the first who called Philosophy from Heaven, to place it in Cities, and introduce it into private Houses*ⁱ, i. e. to teach public and private Morals. But we must not suppose, *Tully* here meant simply, as the Words seem to imply, that *Socrates was the first of the Philosophers, who studied Morals*; this being evidently false; for the *Pythagoric School* had, for a long Time before, made those its principal Concern. He must therefore mean (as the Quotation below partly implies) that *He was the first who called off Philosophy from its Contemplation of Nature to fix it ENTIRELY upon Morals*. This was so remarkably and exactly true, that *Socrates* was not only the *first*, but the *last* of the Philosophers that did so; having in this no Followers, unless we reckon *Xenophon*, who upbraids *Plato*, the immediate Successor of his School,

ⁱ Primus Philosophiam devocavit e cœlo, & in urbibus collocavit, & in domos etiam introduxit. *Tuscul. Quæst. lib. 5.* And again, *Acad. l. 1.* Socrates mihi videtur, id quod constat inter omnes, primus a rebus occultis, & ab ipsa natura involutis, in quibus omnes ante eum philosophi occupati fuerunt, evocavisse Philosophiam, & ad vitam communem adduxisse, ut de virtutibus & vitiis, omninoque de bonis rebus & malis quæreret; cœlestia autem vel procul esse a nostra cognitione censeret, vel, si maxime cognita essent, nihil tamen ad bene vivendum conferre.

for forsaking his Master's contracted Scheme, and imitating the common Practice of the Philosophers in their Pursuit of general Knowledge.

However, this which *Socrates* attempted in Philosophy was a very extraordinary Revolution: and, to support it, he brought in those Principles of Doubt and Uncertainty, which some of his *pretended* Followers, as we shall see presently, very much abused: For while *he* restrained those Principles to *natural Enquiries*, which he rejected; *they* extended them to every Thing that was the Subject of human Disquisition. This we presume was *Socrates's* true Character: who thus confining his Enquiries, it is remarkable, that *he*, and he only, of all the ancient *Greek* Philosophers, really believed the Doctrine of a future State of Rewards and Punishments. How it happened that he was so *singularly* right, will be considered hereafter, when we bring his Case to illustrate, and confirm the general Position we are here establishing.

From *Socrates*, as we said, came the *Middle* and *New Academy*, as well as the *Old*, or *Platonic*: *Arcefilaus* was the Founder of the *Middle*; and *Carneades* of the *New*. Between the Principles of these two there was no real Difference, as *Tully* tells us, and we may take his Word: but both, I will venture to affirm, were as real *Sceptics*, as *that* which was so denominated; I mean in their *Principles* of philosophising, though not in the *professed Conclusions* each pretended to draw from those *Principles*. For as well *Academics* as *Sceptics* agreed in this, *That nothing could be known; and that, without interfering with any Sentiments of their own, every Thing was to be disputed*. Hence the *Sceptics* concluded, *that nothing was ever to be assented to, but the Mind kept in an eternal Suspense*: The *Academics*, on the contrary, *that the PROBABLE, when*

found, was to be assented to ; but, till then, they were to go on with the Sceptics, questioning, disputing, and contradicting every Thing. And here lay the Joke : they continued doing this all the Time of their Existence^k, without ever finding the *Probable* in any Thing ; except only in what was necessary to supply them with Arms for disputing against every thing. It is true, this was a Contradiction in their Scheme : but Scepticism is unavoidably destructive of itself. The Mischief was, that their allowing the *Probable* thus far, made many, both Ancients and Moderns, think they were uniform in their Allowance : In the mean Time they gave good Words, and talked perpetually of their *Verisimile* and *Probabile*, amidst a Situation of absolute Doubt, Darknefs, and Scepticism ; like *Sancho Pancha* of his *Island* on the *Terra Firma*.

This I take to be the true Key to the Intrigues of the *Academy*, of which famous Sect many have been betrayed into a better Opinion than was fitting. If any Doubt remain, the Account which *Tully* himself gives of these People, will remove it. He, who knew them best, and who espoused only the more reasonable Part of their Conduct, tells us, that they held nothing could be known, or so much as perceived : *Nihil cognosci, nihil percipi,*

^k This was *Lucian's* Opinion of the matter ; and no body knew them better. This drole Writer, where he speaks of the *Happy Island*, in his *true History*, tells us how it was stocked with the several Sects of *Greek Philosophy*. But when he comes to the *Academics*, he with high Humour informs us, that tho' these were in as good a Disposition to come as any of the rest, they still kept aloof in the Confines, and would never venture to set a Foot on the Island. For here truly they stuck ; they were not yet satisfied whether it was indeed an Island or no. Τὰς δὲ Ἀκαδημαίικας ἔλεγον θέλειν μὲν εἰσελθεῖν, ἐπέχειν δ' ἔτι, καὶ ἀγασκόμεναι μὴ ὅτι αὐτὸ τῶτό πως καταλαμβάνειν, εἰ καὶ νῆσός τις ὡραία ἐστίν. *Ver. Hist.* l. 2.

nihil sciri posse dixerunt — *Opinionibus & institutis omnia teneri; nihil veritati relinqui: deinceps omnia tenebris circumfusa esse dixerunt. Itaque Arcefilaus negabat esse quidquam quod sciri posset, ne illud quidem ipsum*¹: That every Thing was to be disputed; and that the *Probable* was not a Thing to engage their Assents, or sway their Judgments, but to enforce their Reasonings. *C Carneades vero multo uberius iisdem de rebus loquebatur: non quo aperiret sententiam suam (hic enim mos erat patrius Academiae ADVERSARI SEMPER OMNIBUS in disputando) sed*^m, *&c. — Proprium sit Academiae judicium suum nullum interponere, ea probare quæ simillima veri videantur; conferre causas, & quid in quamque sententiam dici possit expromere, nulla adhibita sua auctoritate, judicium audientium relinquere integrum & liberum*ⁿ. That, though they pretended their End was to find the *Probable*, yet, like the *Sceptics*, they held their Mind in an eternal Suspense, and continued going on disputing against every Thing, without ever finding the *Probable* to determine their Judgments. *Restat (says Lucullus) illud quod dicunt veri inveniendi causa contra omnia dici oportere & pro omnibus. VOLO igitur VIDERE QUID INVENERINT: Non solemus, inquit, ostendere*^o.

Thus it appears the Sect was thoroughly sceptical^p: And *Sextus Empiricus*, a Master of this Ar-

¹ *Acad. Quæst. l. i. c. 12, 13.*

^m *De Orat. lib. i. c. 18.*

ⁿ *De Divin. lib. ii. sub fin.*

^o *Acad. Quæst. lib. iv. c. 18.*

^p The Reader may not be displeased to see the Judgment of a learned *French* Writer on the Account here given of the *Academics* — *L'on fait voir que l'on doit exclure de ce nombre [des sectes dogmatistes] les nouveaux Academiciens, purs sceptiques, quoy qu'il y aît quelques auteurs modernes qui pretendent le contraire, & entre autres M. Middleton, auteur de la*

gument, says no less: who, though he denies the *Academics* and *Sceptics* to be exactly the same, as some Ancients affirmed, because though both agreed that Truth could not be found, yet the *Academics* held there was a Difference in those Things which pretended to it (the Mystery of which has been revealed above) yet owns that *Arcesilaus* and *Pyrrho* had one common Philosophy⁹. *Origen*, or the Author of the Fragment that goes under his Name, seems to have transcribed the Opinion of those whom *Sextus* hints at. *But another Sect of Philosophers* (says he) *was called the Academic, because they held their Disputations in the Academy. Pyrrho was the Head and Founder of these: From whom they were called Pyrrhonians. He first of all brought in the Ακαταληψία, or Incomprehensibility, as an Instrument to enable them to dispute on both Sides the Question, without proving or clearing any thing^r.*

nouvelle Vie du Ciceron Anglois. Mais si l'on examine la source où il a puisé ses sentimens, l'on trouvera que c'est dans les Apologies que les Academiciens eux-mêmes ont faites pour cacher le Scepticisme qui leur étoit reproché par toutes les autres sectes; & de cette maniere on pourroit soutenir que les Pyrrhoniens mêmes n'étoient point sceptiques. Qu'on se ressouvienne seulement que, suivant le raport de Ciceron, *Arcesilaus*, fondateur de la nouvelle Academie, nioit que l'on fut certain de sa propre existence. Après un trait semblable, & plusieurs autres qui sont rapportes — on laisse au lecteur à décider du caractère de cette secte & du jugement qu'en porte M. Middleton. *Diff. sur l'Union de la Religion de la Morale & de la Politique, Pref. p. 12.*

⁹ Φασί μάλιστα τινες ὅτι ἡ Ἀκαδημαϊκὴ φιλοσοφία ἡ αὐτὴ ἐστὶ τῇ Σκέψει. — Ὁ μὲν τι Ἀρκεσίλαος, ὃν τ' μέσης Ἀκαδημίας, ἐλέγομεν εἶναι πρῶτον καὶ δόχνητον, πάντῃ μοι δοκεῖ τοῖς Πυρρῶνείοις κοινωνεῖν λόγοις, ὡς μίαν εἶναι χηδὸν τ' κατ' αὐτὸν ἀγωγὴν καὶ τ' ἡμετέραν. *Hypot. Pyrrh. lib. i. c. 33.*

^r Ἄλλη δ' αἵρεσις φιλοσόφων ἐκλήθη Ἀκαδημαϊκὴ, διὰ τὸ ἐν τῇ Ἀκαδημίᾳ τὰς διατριβὰς αὐτὰς ποιεῖσθαι, ὣν ἀρχὴς ὁ Πύρρων, ἀφ' οὗ Πυρρῶνιοι ἐκλήθησαν φιλόσοφοι, τ' ἀκαταληψίαν ἀπάντων πρῶτον εἰσήγαγον, ὡς ἐπιχειρεῖν ἢ εἰς ἐκάτερον, μὴ μὲν τοι δαφραίνεισθαι μηδέν. *Orig. Philosophica. περὶ Ἀκαδημ.*

But now a Difficulty obtrudes itself, that will require some Explanation. We have represented the *Academy* as entirely *sceptical*: We have represented *Socrates* as a *Dogmatist*; and yet on his sole Authority, as we are assured by *Tully*, did this Sect hold its Principles of *knowing nothing* and *disputing all Things*. The true Solution seems to be this.

1. *Socrates*, to deter his Hearers from all Studies but that of Morality, was perpetually representing the Obscurity, in which they lay involved: not only affirming that he knew nothing of them, but that nothing could be known; while, in Morals, he was a *Dogmatist*, as appears largely by *Xenophon*, and the less fabulous Parts of *Plato*. But *Arcefilaus* and *Carneades* took him at his word, when he said *he knew nothing*; and extended that Principle of Uncertainty to all Things disputable.

2. Again, the Adversaries, with whom *Socrates* had to deal, in his Project of discrediting natural Knowledge, and recommending the Study of Morality, were the *SOPHISTS* properly so called; a Race of Men, who by their Fallacies and Eloquence, had long kept up the Credit of the *one*, and much vitiated the Purity of the *other*: And these being the Oracles of Science at that Time in *Athens*, it became the Modesty and Humility of his Pretensions, to attack them covertly, and rather as an Enquirer than a Teacher. This produced the Method of disputing by *Interrogation*, from the Inventor, called the *Socratic*: And as this could not be carried on but under a professed Admiration of their Wisdom, and Acquiescence in their Decisions, it gave birth to the famous *Attic Irony*^s.

^s *Socrates* autem de se ipse detrahens in disputatione, plus tribuebat iis, quos volebat refellere. Ita cum aliud diceret atque sentiret, libenter uti solitus est ea dissimulatione, quam Græci εἰρωνείαν vocant. *Acad.* 1. ii. c. 5.

Hence it appears, his way of Confutation must be, by turning their own Principles and Concessions against them, and *advancing nothing of his own*.

Now *Arcefilaus* and *Carneades* having, as we say, extravagantly extended the *Socratic Principle of knowing nothing*; easily mistook this other, of *advancing nothing of his own against the Sophists*, as a necessary Consequence of the former; and so made that a general Rule for their School, which, in their Master, was only an occasional Practice.

On these two mistaken Principles was the *New Academy* erected. *Omnia latere in occulto, nec esse quidquam, quod cerni aut intelligi possit: quibus de causis nihil oportere neque profiteri, neque affirmare quemquam, neque assertionem approbare*^t.

But they of the *Old Academy*^v, the immediate Followers of *Socrates*, with more Judgment, de-

^t *Acad. Quæst. lib. i. c. 12.*

^v That those of the *Old Academy* were Dogmatists, *Tully* assures us, with full Evidence, where he says, *Quæst. Acad. lib. i. Nihil enim inter PERIPATETICOS & ACADEMIAM illam VETEREM differebat*: For that the *Peripatetics* were Dogmatists no body ever questioned. Yet the same *Tully* seems to take away with one hand what he gave with the other, when he says, towards the Conclusion of this first Book, *Hanc Academiam NOVAM appellabant, quæ mihi VETUS videtur*. Here then the *Old Academy* is become sceptical; for such certainly was the *New*. The true way of reconciling *Cicero* to himself I take to be this: Where he speaks of the Conformity between the *Peripatetics* and the *Old Academy*, he considers it under *Plato*, as the Founder: as appears from the following Words, *Academ. l. ii. c. 5. Alter [nempe Plato] quia reliquit perfectissimam disciplinam, Peripateticos & Academicos, nominibus differentes, re congruentes*: And where he speaks of the Conformity between the *New* and *It*, he considers it as under *Socrates*. For the *New Academy*, as we here see, claimed the nearest Relation to their Master. Thus *De Nat. Deor. l. i. c. 5.* he says, *Ut hæc in Philosophia ratio contra omnia differendi, nullamque rem apertè judicandi, profecta à Socrate, repetita ab Arcefila, confirmata à Carneade, &c.* But *Tully*, it may be said, in the very Place where he speaks of the Agreement between the *New* and *Old Academy*, understands

clined their Master's Method of Disputation; easily perceiving that it was adapted to the Occasion: and that to make such a general Practice, and the Characteristic of their School, would be irrational and absurd. But now the *Middle* and *New*, instead of profiting by this sage Conduct of their Prede-

Plato as the Founder of the Old: *Hanc Academiam novam appellant; quæ mihi vetus videtur, si quidem Platonem ex illa vetere numeramus; cujus in Libris nihil adfirmatur, & in utramque partem multa differuntur; de omnibus quæritur, nihil certi dicitur.* But it is to be observed, that *Plato* had a twofold Character: and is to be considered, both as a *Disciple* and *Historian* of *Socrates*, and as the *Head of a Sect* himself, and Master of *Xenocrates* and *Aristotle*. Under the first Character he affirms nothing; in the latter he is a *Dogmatist*. Under the first, *Socrates* and he are the same; in the latter they are very different. *Tully* here speaks of him under his first Character, as appears from what he says of him, *nihil adfirmatur, &c.* *Plato*, in this Place, therefore, is the same as *Socrates*. The not distinguishing his double Character, hath occasioned much Dispute amongst the Ancients; as the not observing that *Tully* hath, throughout his Writings, made that Distinction, hath much embarrassed the modern Critics. *Diogenes Laertius* tells us, there were infinite Disputes about *Plato's* Character, some holding that he did dogmatize, others that he did not. Ἐπεὶ ὁ πολλὴν ῥαίσις ἐστὶ, καὶ οἱ μὲν φασιν αὐτὸν δογματίζειν, οἱ δ' ὀ. Lib. iii. Seg. 51. *Sextus Empiricus* says the same thing, τὸ Πλάτωνα εἶναι, οἱ μὲν δογματικὸν ἔφασαν εἶναι, οἱ δ' ἀπορηματικόν. He then tells you, some distinguished better. Καλὰ δὲ τι δογματικόν· ἐν μὲν γὰρ τοῖς γυμνασικοῖς φασὶ λόγοις, ἐνθα ὁ Σωκράτης εἰσάγειναι ἤτοι παίζων πρὸς τινὰς ἢ ἀγωνιζόμενον πρὸς σοφιστὰς, γυμνασικόν τε καὶ ἀπορηματικόν φασιν ἔχειν αὐτὸν χαρὰ κῆρυκα· δογματικὸν δ', ἐνθα παρδάζων, ἀποφαίνειναι ἤτοι διὰ Σωκράτους, ἢ Τιμαίου, ἢ τινος τῶν τοιούτων. That *Tully* made the Distinction, as delivered above, we shall now see. In the *Academic Questions*, he speaks of him as the *Disciple* and *Historian* of *Socrates*; and, under that Character, *nihil adfirmatur, & in utramque partem multa differuntur, de omnibus quæritur, nihil certi dicitur.* In his *Offices* he speaks of him as different from *Socrates*, and the *Founder of a Sect*: and then he is a *Dogmatist*, and, as he says elsewhere, *reliquit perfectissimam disciplinam Peripateticos & Academicos nominibus differentes, re congruentes.* His Words to his Son are: *Sed tamen nostra [nempe Academica] leges non multum a Peripateticis dissidentia, quoniam*

cessors, made it a Handle to extol their own closer Adherence to their Master; and an Argument that they were returned to his true Principles, from which the *Old* had faultily deviated. A Passage in *Tully* will justify these Observations; and these Observations will explain that Passage, which, I presume, without them would not be thought very intelligible. Thus he expresses himself, under the Character of his Sect: *Primum, inquam, deprecor, ne me, tanquam philosophum, putetis scholam vobis aliquam explicaturum: quod ne in ipsis quidem philosophis magnopere unquam probavi: quando enim Socrates, qui parens philosophiæ jure dici potest, quidquam tale fecit? eorum erat iste mos, qui tum Sophistæ nominabantur; quorum è numero primus est ausus Leontinus Gorgias in conventu poscere questionem, id est, jubere dicere, qua de re quis vellet audire. Audax negotium; dicerem impudens, nisi hoc institutum postea translatum ad philosophos nostros esset. Sed & illum, quem nominavi, & ceteros Sophistas, ut è Platone intelligi potest, lupos videmus a Socrate. Is enim percunctando atque interrogando elicere solebat eorum opiniones, quibuscum differebat, ut ad ea, quæ ii respondissent, si quid videretur, diceret: QUI MOS CUM A POSTERIORIBUS NON ESSET RETENTUS, ARCESILAUS EUM REVOCAVIT, INSTITUITQUE, ut ii, qui se audire vellent, non de se quærerent, sed ipsi dicerent, quid sen-*

utrique & Socratici & Platonici esse volumus, i. e. He tells his Son, that he would both dogmatize like *Plato*, and scepticize like *Socrates*. But *Grævius* not apprehending this double Character of *Plato*, would change *Socratici* to *Stoici*. For, says he, *qui dicere potest se utrumque esse voluisse Platonicum & Socraticum; perinde est ac si scripsisset utrumque se velle esse Peripateticum & Aristoteleum.* But there was a vast Difference between *Plato*, Founder of the Academy, and *Socrates*; though none between *Plato* the Historian and him.

tirent :

tirent: quod cum dixissent, ille contra^w. Here *Cicero* has gilded the artful, but false Colours of his Sect: which not only represented their Scepticism, as a Return to the true Principles of *Socrates*; but would have the dogmatic Sects of Philosophy, against all Evidence of Antiquity, the late Product of that Race of Sophists, with whom the Godlike Man had to do. But the *Old Academy* we may be sure had a different Notion of the Matter: *Lucullus* says of *Arcesilaus*, *Nonne cum jam philosophorum disciplinæ gravissimæ constitissent, tum exortus est, ut in optima Rep. Tiberius Graccus, qui ocium perturbaret, sic Arcesilaus, qui constitutam philosophiam everteret*^x.

However these bold Pretensions of restoring the *Socratic School* to its Integrity, deluded many of the Ancients; and made them, as particularly *Dio- genes Laertius*, to rank *Socrates* in the Number of the Sceptics.

But it was in the Fashion of all the Sects to pretend Relation to *Socrates*. *Proseminatæ sunt familiæ dissentientes, & multum disjunctæ & dispares, cum tamen omnes se philosophi Socraticos & dici vel- lent & esse arbitrarentur*, says *Cicero*. And again, *Fuerunt etiam alia genera Philosophorum fere qui se omnes Socraticos esse dicebant: Eretricorum, Heriliorum, Megaricorum, Pyrrhoneorum*^y.

On the whole it appears that the *Academics*, as distinguished from the *Platonists*, were mere *Scep- tics*; and so, like that Sect, to be thrown out of our Account. Those then remaining, whose Senti- ments it is to the Purpose to enquire after, will be the *PYTHAGORIC*, the *PLATONIC*, the *PERIPA- TETIC*, and the *STOIC*: And if, on a Scrutiny of these four renowned Schools, the *PHILOSOPHIC*

^w *De Fin. Bon. & Mal. lib. ii. c. i.*

^x *Acad. l. ii. c. 5.*

^y *De Orat. lib. iii.*

QUATERNION of dogmatic Theists, it be found that none of them believed, though all sedulously taught, the Doctrine of a future State of Rewards and Punishments, the Reader will perhaps be willing to conclude with me, that it was not the real Opinion of any *Grecian* Sect.

I. PYTHAGORAS comes first under Examination. He is said to have invented the Name long after the Existence of his Profession; and was, as we may say, the middle Link that connected together the *Lawgivers* and *Philosophers*; being indeed the only *Greek* that was properly and truly both the one and the other: though, from his Time, and in Conformity to his Practice, not only those of his own School, but even those of the *other three*, dealt much in Legislation: In which his Fortune was like that of *Socrates*, who was the first and last of the Philosophers that *confined* himself to *Morals*; though, in Imitation of his Conduct, *Morals*, from thence, made the chief Business of all the Subdivisions of his School.

In the Science of Legislation, ORPHEUS^z, for whom he had the highest Reverence, was his Master; and in Philosophy, PHERECYDES SYRUS^a. Which last Circumstance we desire may be kept in Mind, as of Importance for the Discovery of *Pythagoras's* real Sentiments in the Point in Question.

After he had formed his Character on these two different Models, being ambitious of reaching to the Fountain-head of Science, he travelled into EGYPT; where, after a long and painful Initiation, he participated of all the Mysteries of the Priesthood.

He had now so thoroughly imbibed the Spirit of Legislation, that he not only pretended his LAWS

^z *Jamblicus de Vita Pyth.* c. 151.

^a *Id. ib.* c. 184.

were inspired, which most other Law-givers had done; but his PHILOSOPHY likewise^b; which no other Philosopher ever presumed to do.

This, we may be sure, would incline him to a more than ordinary Cultivation of the *double Doctrine*. He divided his Disciples (says Origen) into two Classes, the one he called the ESOTERIC, the other, the EXOTERIC. For to those he intrusted the more perfect and sublime Doctrines; to these, the more vulgar and popular^c. And, indeed, he was so eminent in this Practice, that the *secret or esoteric Doctrine* of Pythagoras became proverbial. For what End he did it, Varro informs us, in St. Austin, where he says, that Pythagoras instructed his Auditors in the Science of Legislation LAST OF ALL, when they were now become learned, wise, and happy. And on what Subject, appears from a common Saying of the Sect, that in those Things which relate to the Gods, ALL was not to be revealed to all^d.

The Communities he gave Laws to, the Cities he set free, are known to every one: And that nothing might be wanting to his *Legislative Character*, he likewise, in Conformity to general Practice, instituted MYSTERIES; in which was taught, as usual, the *Unity of the divine Nature*. So *Jamblicus*: “They say too he taught Lustrations and
“INITIATIONS, in which were delivered the MOST
“EXACT KNOWLEDGE of the Gods. They say
“farther that he made a kind of Union between
“divine Philosophy and Religious Worship; having
“learnt some Things from the ORPHIC Rites;
“some, from the ÆGYPTIAN PRIESTS; some,

^b *Jamblicus de Vita Pyth.* c. 1.

^c Οὗτ' ὅτι τὰς μαθητὰς διεῖλε, καὶ τὰς μὲν ΕΣΩΤΕΡΙΚΟΥΣ, τὰς δὲ ΕΞΩΤΕΡΙΚΟΥΣ ἐκάλεισεν. Τοῖς μὲν γὰρ τὰ τελεώτερα μαθήματα ἐπίστευε, τοῖς δὲ τὰ μελεώτερα. *Fragm. de Philos. περὶ Πυθαγ.*

^d Μὴ εἶναι πρὸς πάντας πάντα ἐκτελεῖν.

“ from the *Chaldeans* and *Magi*; and some from
 “ the INITIATIONS celebrated in *ELEUSIS*, *Imbros*,
 “ *Samothrace* and *Delos*; or wherever else, as
 “ amongst the *CELTS* and *Iberians*^e.” Nay so
 much did his *Legislative* prevail over his *Philosophic*
 Character, that he brought not only the Principles^f
 of the *Mysteries* into the *Schools*, but likewise many
 of the Observances; as Abstinence from *Beans* and
 several kinds of Animals: which afterwards con-
 tributed not a little to confound the *secret Doctrines*
 of the *Schools* and the *Mysteries*. This Confor-
 mity was, without Doubt, the Reason why the
Crotoniates, or the *Metapontines* (for in this Au-
 thors differ^g) turned his House or School, after his
 Death into a TEMPLE of CERES.

Thus the Fame and Authority of *Pythagoras* be-
 came inconceivably great over all *Greece* and *Italy*.
Herodotus calls him, *the most authoritative of Philo-
 sophers*^h. *Cicero* says of him: *Cum, Superbo re-
 gnante, in Italiam venisset, tenuit Magnam illam*

^e — Ἀγγέλλειν ὃ αὐτῷ τὰς καθαρμῶς, καὶ τὰς λεγομένας ΤΕ-
 ΛΕΤΑΣ, ἢ ΑΚΡΙΒΕΣΤΑΤΗΝ ΕΙΔΗΣΙΝ ΑΥΤΩΝ (τῷ Θεῷ) ἔ-
 χουσα. ἔτι δὲ φασὶ καὶ συνθέλον αὐτὸν ποιῆσαι τὴν θεῖαν φιλοσοφίαν
 καὶ θεωρητικὴν. αὐτὸ μὲν μαθόντια ὡς τὰ τῶν ΟΡΦΙΚΩΝ, αὐτὸ δὲ ὡς τὰ
 ΑΙΓΥΠΤΙΩΝ ΙΕΡΕΩΝ, αὐτὸ δὲ ὡς τὰ ΧΑΛΔΑΙΩΝ καὶ Μάγων, αὐτὸ δὲ
 ὡς τὰ ΤΕΛΕΤΗΣ, ἢ ἐν ΕΛΕΥΣΙΝΙ γινόμενης, ἐν Ἱμβρῶ τε, καὶ
 Σαμοθράκῃ, καὶ Δήλῳ, καὶ εἴ τι ὡς τὰ τοῖς λοιποῖς, καὶ περὶ τὰς
 ΚΕΛΤΟΥΣ καὶ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν. *Jambl. de Vit. Pyth.* § 151. *Porph.*
de Vit. Pyth. N^o 17. tells us, that, when *Pythagoras* had been
initiated in the *Cretan Mysteries*, and had continued in the *Idean*
Cave three Times nine Days, he wrote this Epigram on the
Tomb of Jupiter, Ὡδε θανὼν κεῖται Ζῶν, ὃν Δία κικλήσκουσιν. *Zan*,
whom Men call Jupiter, lies here deceased. This very much
 confirms what we have said, in the Discourse on the *Mysteries*,
 concerning what was there taught of the Original of the Popular
 Gods, in order to introduce the Doctrine of the Unity.

^f See Book II. Sect. 4. p. 146, 147.

^g *Diog. Laert.* lib. viii. § 17. *Porph. de Vit. Pyth.* N^o 4.

^h — Οὐ τῷ ἀσθενεστάτῳ σοφιστῇ Πυθαγόρῃ. — lib. iv. § 95.
 literally, *not of the least Authority*: a common Figure in the an-

Græciam

*Græciam cum HONORE EX DISCIPLINA, tum etiam AUCTORITATE*ⁱ.

And this was no transient Reputation: It descended to his Followers, through a long Succession; to whom the Cities of *Italy* frequently committed the Administration of their Affairs^k; where

cient Languages. So *Homer*, in the 15th *Iliad*, calls *Achilles*, ὦν ἀπαιρέτατον Ἀχαιῶν, not the worst Soldier of the Greeks; meaning, we know, the best.

ⁱ *Tusc. Disp.* l. i. c. 16. — *Honore* refers to his *Philosophic* Character; and *Auctoritate* to his *Legislative*. The common Reading is, *cum honore & disciplinâ, tum etiam auctoritate*. Dr. B. in his Emendations on the *Tusc. Quæst.* saw this was faulty; but not reflecting on the two-fold Character of *Pythagoras*, and, perhaps, not attending to *Tully's* Purpose (which was not to speak of the *Nature* of his Philosophy, but of the *Reputation* he had in *Magna Græcia*) he seems not to have hit upon the true Reading. He objects to *Honore*, because the Particles *cum* and *tum* require a greater Difference in the Things spoken of, than is to be found in *Honos* and *Auctoritas*: which Reasoning would have been just, had only a *philosophic* Character, or only a *legislative*, been the Subject. But it was *Tully's* plain Meaning, to present *Pythagoras* under both these Views. So that *Honos*, which is the proper Consequence of succeeding in the first; and *Auctoritas*, of succeeding in the latter; have all the real Difference that *cum* and *tum* require; at least *Plutarch* thought so, when he applied these very Words to the *Egyptian* Soldiery and the *Priesthood*; to whom, like the Legislator and Philosopher, the one having *Power* and the other *Wisdom*, *Auctoritas* and *Honos* distinctly belong: — Ἐ μὲν δι' ἀνδρείαν, Ἐ δὲ διὰ σοφίαν, ἥντις ΑΞΙΩΜΑ καὶ ΤΙΜΗΝ ἔχοντες. *De Isid. & Osir.* Another Objection the learned Critic brings against the common Reading, has more Weight; which is, that in *Honore & Disciplina*, two Words are joined together as very similar in Sense, which have scarce any Affinity or Relation to one another: on which Account he would read MORE & *Disciplina*. But this, as appears from what has been said above, renders the whole Sentence lame and imperfect: I would venture therefore to read, only changing a single Letter, *tenuit Magnam illam Græciam cum honore EX disciplina, tum etiam auctoritate*: and then all will be right, *ex Disciplina* referring equally to *Honore* and *Auctoritate*.

^k Πυθαγόρας δ' ἔχει πολλὰ καὶ τὰ Ἰταλίαν ἕως θαυμάζειο.

they

they so well established their Authority, that St. *Jerom* tells us, very lasting Marks of it were remaining to his Time: *Respice omnem oram Italiae, quæ quondam Magna Græcia dicebatur; & Pythagoreorum dogmatum incisa publicis literis æra cognosces*¹.

But there are two Circumstances, that must needs give us the highest Idea of *Pythagoras*'s Reputation in point of Legislation.

1. The *one* is, that almost every Lawgiver of Name, for some time *before* and *after*, as well as *during his Time*, was numbered amongst his Disciples: For the popular Opinion was, that nothing could be done to purpose in this matter, that did not come from *Pythagoras*.

2. The *other* is, that the Doctrine of the Dispensation of Providence by a *Metempsychosis*, or Transmigration of the Soul, though taught in all the Mysteries, and an inseparable Part of a future State in all the Religions of Paganism, became in common Speech the *peculiar Doctrine* of *Pythagoras*.

And here the Reader will pardon a short Digression, not a little illustrating the Point we are upon.

There is not a more extraordinary Book in all Antiquity, than the METAMORPHOSIS OF OVID; whether we regard the Matter or the Form. The *Tales* appear monstrously extravagant, and the *Composition* irregular and absurd: Had it been the Product of a dark Age, and a barbarous Writer, one might have been content to have ranked it in the Class of our modern *Eastern Fables*, as a Matter of no Consequence. But when we consider it as wrote while *Rome* was in its Meridian of Knowledge and Politeness; and by an Author, who,

αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ σωόντες αὐτῷ ἐταῖροι, ὥς τε καὶ τὰς πολιτείας τοῖς ἀπ' αὐτῶ ἐπιτέλειεν τὰς πόλεις. *Porph. de Vit. Pyth. N° 54.*

¹ *Cont. Ruf. lib. ii.*

from

from his Acquaintance with the Greek Tragic Writers, well knew what belonged to a Work or Composition, we cannot but be shocked at so grotesque an Assemblage of its Parts: One would rather therefore distrust a modern Judgment, and conclude the Deformity to be only in Appearance: And this, perhaps, on Examination, we shall find to be the Case: though it must be owned, the common Opinion seems to be supported by *Quintilian*, the most judicious Critic of Antiquity, who thus speaks of our Author and his Work: *Ut Ovidius lascivire in Metamorphosi solet, quem tamen excusare necessitas potest, RES DIVERSISSIMAS IN SPECIEM UNIUS CORPORIS COLLIGENTEM*^m.

But before we can come to this, we must consider the Origin of the ancient Fables in general.

There are *two Opinions* concerning it.

I. The *first* is, of those who think the Fables contrived by the ancient Sages for Repositories of their mysterious Wisdom; and, consequently, that they are no less than *natural, moral, and divine* Truths, fantastically disguised. The learned Reader will not need a Confutation of this Opinion: I shall only observe, it was well for Truth, that none of the ancient Allegorists entered upon their Task with any thing like the Spirit of our great *Bacon*ⁿ; the creative Power of whose Genius so nearly realized these Fancies, as sometimes to put us to a stand, whether we should not prefer the Riches and Beauty of his Imagination, to the poor and meagre Truth that lies at Bottom.

But the *Original* of the Mistake may not, perhaps, be so commonly attended to: The Philoso-

^m *Instit. Orat. lib. iv. c. i. sub. fin.*

ⁿ *De Sapientia Veterum.*

phers^o, I persuade myself, *invented* and *revived* this Way of Interpretation, as at two different Times, so on two different Occasions.

1. The ancient *Greek* Poets, the Repertories of Pagan Mythology, were in the Number of their most revered Divines; and the Writings of *Homer* a kind of *sacred Scripture*: So that the Absurdities of the LETTER beginning, as the Times grew polite and inquisitive, to abate the popular Veneration for them; the Philosophers, who thought the established Worship concerned in their Support, invented this Method to cover and secure their Reputation^P.

2. What *these* began for the Sake of their *Theologers*, their Successors continued for the Sake of their *Theology*. For when the Propagators of *Christianity* set upon exposing the Absurdities of vulgar Paganism, these Defenders of it seized the Way of Allegory to cover it from Ignominy^q: An Evasion, their Adversaries could with no Grace ob-

^o So *Minucius Felix*. *Zenon*, interpretando *Junonem* aëra, *Jovem* coelum, *Neptunum* mare, ignem esse *Vulcanum*, & ceteros similiter vulgi Deos elementa esse monstrando, publicum arguit graviter & revincit errorem. Eadem fere *Chrysippus*, vim divinam, rationalem naturam, & mundum interim, & fatalem necessitatem Deum credit; *Zenonemque* interpretatione physiologiae in *Hesiodi*, *Homeri*, *Orpheique* carminibus imitatur. *Babylonio* etiam *Diogeni* disciplina est exponendi & differendi, *Jovis* partum & ortum *Minervæ*, & hoc genus cetera, rerum vocabula esse, non Deorum. *Octavius*, c. 19.

^P So *Arnobius*. Vulnerari, vexari, bella inter se gerere furialium memorantur ardore discriminum: Vobis illa est descriptio voluptati, atque ut *Scriptorum* tantam defendatis audaciam, allegorias res illas, & naturalis scientiæ mentimini esse doctrinas. *Adv. Gentes*, l. iv. p. 150. Ed. Quarto.

^q So *Tertullian*. — Ipsa quoque vulgaris Superstitio communis Idololatriæ, cum in simulacris de nominibus & fabulis veterum mortuorum pudet, ad interpretationem naturalium refugit, & decus suum ingenio obumbrat, figurans *Jovem* in substantiam fervidam & *Junonem* ejus in aëream, &c. *Advers. Marc.* l. i.

ject

ject to, while they *borrowed* that very Method to *spiritualize*, forsooth, their sacred Writings, which the Pagans had long used with more Pretence and better Judgment to make theirs *reasonable*.

The first of these Allegorizers, as we learn from *Laertius*^r, was *Anaxagoras* and his Friend *Metrodorus*, who turned *Homer's* Theology into a System of *Ethics*. Next came *Heraclides Ponticus*, and made of the same Poem as good a System of *Physics*: which, to shew us with what Spirit he wrote, he intitles Ἀντίρρησις τῇ κατ' αὐτῶν [Ὁμήρου] βλασφημίας. And last of all, when the Necessity became more pressing, *Proclus* undertook to shew all *Homer's* Fables to be no other than *Physical, Ethical, and Theological Allegories*.

This, as I said, appears to me the true Original of this kind of Interpretation. The learned *Eusebius* supports our Opinion, who expressly says, that a new Race of Men refined their old gross Divinity, and gave it an honester Look, and brought it nearer to the Truth of Things^s.

II. The *other Opinion* of the Origin of the Fables, is that which supposes them the Corruptions of Civil History, and consequently, as having their Foundation in real Facts; and this is unquestionably the true. It would lead me too far from my Subject, to shew in this Place, which of the Fables arose from the *Ambiguity of Words*; which, from the *high Figures of Poetry*; and which, from the *politic Representations of Statesmen*: and how the *Passion of Admiration* procured an easy Admittance

^r lib. ii. *Anaxag. Vit.*

^s Τοιαῦτα ἦν τὰ τῶν παλαιῶν θεολογίας, ἣν μεταβαλόντες νέοι τινές, χθές καὶ πρῶτον ἐπιφύεντες λογικώτερον τε φιλοσοφεῖν αὐχάντες, τὸ δὲ φυσικώτερον τὸ περὶ θεῶν ἰσορίας δόξαν εἰσηγήσαντο, σεμνολέγας δὲ θεσιολογίας τοῖς μύθοις προσεπινοήσαντες. — *Præp. Evang.* l. ii. c. 6.

into barbarous Minds, for all these various Delusions.

But we must not omit, that the Followers of this Opinion are divided into two Parties; *one* of which would have the ancient Fables the Corruption of *profane* History only; the *other*, only of *sacred*.

This *last* seems unsupported by every Thing but a zealous Intention of doing Honour to *the Bible*: For by what we can collect from *Pagan* or even *Jewish* Writers, the History of that People was less celebrated or known, than of *any* other whose Memory Antiquity hath brought down to us. But, known or unknown, it is somewhat hard, methinks, that they will not allow *Greece* the Honour of producing one single Hero; but will fetch them all from *Palestine*. One would have thought, the *Number* of the *Pagan Worthies*, and the *Paucity* of the *Jewish*, might have induced our Critics to afford *these* some home-spun Heroes of a second Rate at least. But this, it seems, would look too like a sacrilegious Compromise; so an Expedient is contrived to lessen this Disparity of Numbers: And *Moses* alone is found to be *Apollo*, *Pan*, *Priapus*, *Cecrops*, *Minos*, *Orpheus*, *Amphion*, *Tiresias*, *Janus*, *Evander*, *Romulus*, and about some twenty more of the *Pagan* Gods and Heroes. So says the learned and *judicious* Mr. *Huet*^t: who, not content with seizing all he meets as lawful Prize within the Waste of fabulous Times, makes cruel Inroads into the cultivated Ages of History, and will scarce allow *Rome* its own Founder^v.

Nay, so jealous are they of this Fairy Honour paid to *Scripture*, that I have met with those who

^t *Demonstratio Evangelica.*

^v Si fidem sequimur historiæ, fabulosa pleraque de eo [Romulo] narrari. *Prop.* 4. c. 9. § 8.

thought it much injured to suppose any other Origin of human Sacrifices, than the Command to *Abraham* to offer up his Son. The contending for so extraordinary an Invention, would put one in Mind of those Grammarians, who, out of a *due Regard* to the *Glory of ancient Times*, will not admit either the *Great* or *Small Pox* to be modern Discoveries, but vindicate those inestimable Blessings to all-knowing Antiquity.

But he who wants to be convinced of the Folly of these Notions, can hardly do better than read over the Work^w of one Mr. *De Lavaur*, the best and latest Supporter of them.

The *other Party* then, who esteem *the Fables* a Corruption of Pagan History, appear in general to be right. But the Misfortune is, the Spirit of System seems to have possessed these likewise, while they will allow *nothing* to *Jewish History*: For that Principle, which makes them give the *Egyptian* and *Phenician* a Share with the *Grecian*, should reasonably have disposed them to admit the *Jewish* into Partnership^x; though it might perhaps bring the least Contribution. And he that does not see^y

^w *Histoire de la Fable conferée avec l'Histoire Sainte.* Amst. 1731.

^x How the *Greeks* might come by a Knowledge of the *Jewish* Story may be well accounted for. — At that very Point of Time when they composed their *Mythology*, they had many captive *Jews* dispersed amongst them. Hear how the Prophet *Joel* speaks to the People of *Tyre* and *Sidon*: *The Children also of Judah and the Children of Jerusalem have ye sold unto the Grecians, that ye might remove them far from their Border.* Chap. iii. v. 6.

^y La fable de *Philemon* & de *Baucis* — les personnages sont inconnus, & j'en ai rien d'intéressant à en dire: car de penser avec Mr. *Huet*, qu'elle nous cache l'Histoire des Anges qui allerent visiter *Abraham*, c'est une de ces imaginations hazardées dans lesquelles ce savant prelat, &c. *Banier les Metam. d'Ovid. explic. des Fables* 7, 8, 9, & 10. lib. viii.

that *Philemon* and *Baucis* is taken from the Story of *Lot*, must be very blind: Though he^z that can discover the Expedition of the *Israelites* from *Egypt* to *Palestine*, in the Fable of the *Argonauts*, is certainly bless'd with the *Gift of double Sight*.

Such was the general Original of the *Fables*: But we must be a little more explicite concerning those in question, the METAMORPHOSES.

The *Metempsychosis* was, as we have said, the religious Method, amongst the Ancients, of explaining the Ways of Providence; which, as they were seen to be unequal *here*, were supposed to be rectified *hereafter*. But this Inequality was never thought so great, as to leave no Foot-steps of a Superintendency: For the People of old argued thus: If there was *no* Inequality, *nothing would want to be set right*; and if there was nothing *but* Inequality, there would be *no one to set it right*. So that a *regular* Providence, or *none at all*, equally subverted their Foundation of a *future State*.

It being then believed, that a Providence was administred, though not with equal Vigour, both here and hereafter; it was natural for them to suppose that the Method of it might be the same. And as the Way of punishing, in another State, was by a *Transmigration of the Soul*; so in *this*, it was by a *Transformation of the Body*: The Thing being the same, with only a little Difference of Ceremony in the Circumstances; the Soul, in the first Case going to the Body; and, in the latter, the Body to the Soul: *This* being called the *Metamorphosis*;

^z Voiez *Lavaur*, *Histoire de la Fable* Cap. *Jason & les Argonautes*, à la fin. — Ainsi cette fable est toute composée des traditions que les Chananéens ou Pheniciens avoient repandues dans leurs voyages. On y voit des traits defigurez par ces traditions, mais certainement pris de l'histoire des *Israelites* sous *Moyse & sous Josué*.

and *that* the *Metempsychosis*. Thus, both one and the other made a Part of the popular Doctrine of Providence: And Minds grossly passioned never want Stories to confirm their Prejudices. What principally contributed to fix their Belief of the *Metamorphosis* was, in my Opinion, the strange Effects of *Melancholy Habits*. There was a common Distemper, arising from this *Habit*, well known to the *Greek* Physicians by the Name of the *Lycanthropy*; where the Patient fancied himself turned into a Wolf, or other savage Animal. Why the vitiated Imagination should take this peculiar Ply, is not hard to account for, if we consider that this kind of Transformation made Part of the popular Doctrine of Providence: For the *religious Belief*, we may be assured, would work strongly on a diseased Fancy, racked by a Consciousness of Crimes to which that *Habit* is naturally obnoxious; and, as it did in the Case of *Nebuchadnezzar*^a, make the Patient conclude himself the Object of Divine Justice. And that the vulgar Superstition generally gives the Bias to the Extravagances of a distempered Imagination, we have a familiar Instance. No People upon Earth are more subject to *atrabilaire* Disorders than the *English*: Now while the Tales of Witches, and their Transformations were believed, nothing was commoner in this Distemper, than such fancied Changes by the Power of Witchcraft. But since these Fables lost their Terror, quite different Whimsies, we find, have possessed our melancholic People.

^a *Daniel's* Prediction of this Monarch's Disgrace, evidently shews it to have been the Effect of Divine Vengeance; yet the Prophet's Account of the Circumstances of his Punishment, seems to shew, that it was inflicted by common and natural Means.

These sickly Imaginations therefore proceeding from the Impressions of the religious Notion of the Metamorphosis, would, in their Turn, add great Credit to it; and then any Trifle would keep it up; even an *equivocal Appellation*; which, I don't doubt, hath often given Birth to a particular Fable, though oftener been made an After Embellishment to support it. But it is remarkable, that fabulous Antiquity itself confirms our Opinion, and aids us in this Case, to detect its own Impostures. For though, as hath been said, it generally represents the Punishments for Impiety *as actual Transformations*; yet, in the famous Case of the Daughters of *Prætus*, it has honestly told us that their Punishment (inflicted by *Juno* for their Impiety towards her) was no more than a *deep Melancholy*, which made them *fancy* themselves turned into Heifers; so the Poet,

“ *Præetides implerunt FALSIS mugitibus agros.*

and of this, *Melampus* cured them by a Course of Physic^b.

Thus the *Metamorphosis* arose from the Doctrine of the *Metempsychosis*^c; and was indeed a *Species* of it, and, of course, a very considerable Part of the Pagan Theology: So that we are not to won-

^b *Præetides*, *Præti*, & *Stenobææ*, five *Antiope* secundum *Homærum*, filiae fuerunt, *Lysippe*, *Ipponoe*, *Cyrianassa*. Hæ se cum prætulissent *Junoni* in pulchritudine; vel, ut quidam volunt, cum essent *Antistites*, ausæ sunt vesti ejus aurum detractum in usum suum convertere: illa irata hunc furorem earum immisit mentibus; ut putantes se *Vaccas* in saltus abirent, & plerumque mugirent, & timerent aratra; quas *Melampus*, *Amythaonis* filius, pactâ mercede ut *Cyrianassam* Uxorem cum parte Regni acciperet, placatâ *Junone*, infecto fonte, ubi solitæ erant bibere, purgavit & in pristinum sensum reduxit. *Servius in Bucol. Virgilii* VI. v. 48.

^c The *Eastern Fables* are full of *Metamorphoses*; and 'tis observable that those People, before they embraced *Mahometanism*, were Pagans and Believers of the *Metempsychosis*.

der if several grave Writers made Collections of them; as *Nicander*, *Boeus*, *Callisthenes*, *Dorotheus*, *Theodorus*, *Parthenius*, and *Adrian* the Sophist. Of what kind these Collections were, we may see by that of *Antonius Liberalis*, who transcribed from them: Thence too *Ovid* gathered his Materials; and formed them into a Poem on the most grand and regular Plan, a popular *History of Providence*; carried down from the Creation to his own Times, through the *Egyptian*, *Phenician*, *Greek*, and *Roman* Histories: And this in as methodical a Manner, as the Graces of Poetry would allow.

And though, to enliven his Work, he hath followed the Bent of his Nature, in intermixing here and there some Stories of the Loves of the Gods, which too their religious Traditions countenanced him in; yet he always keeps his End in View, by taking frequent Care to remind his Reader, that *those Punishments were inflicted by the Gods for Impiety*. Which appears to have been the usual Strain of the Writers of *Metamorphoses*^d. So long as they preserved their Piety to the Gods, they were happy, being the constant Prologue to a tragic Story.

But this was not enough: The Poet, jealous, as it were, of the secret Dignity of his Composition, hath, towards the Conclusion of it, given the intelligent Reader a Master-key to his true Drift and Design.

We have observed, that though the *Metempsychosis* was universally taught and believed, and that long before *Pythagoras*; yet the Greatness of his Reputation, and another Cause to be mentioned anon, made it in After-times to be esteemed his peculiar characteristic Doctrine. Now *Ovid*, by a Contrivance, which for its Justice and Beauty equals any

^d "Αχες μὲν ἐν θεῶς ἐτίμων, οὐδ' αἰμονες ἦσαν. *Ant. Liberalis*, *Met.* c. xi.

thing in Antiquity, seizes this Circumstance to instruct his Reader in these two important Points :
 1. *That his Poem is a popular History of Providence :*
 And 2. *That the Metempsychosis was the Original of the Metamorphosis.* For in the Conclusion of his Book, he introduces *Pythagoras* teaching and explaining the Transmigration of Things to the *Crotoniates*. This was ending his Work in that just philosophic Manner, which the Custom of Antiquity demanded.

The *Abbé Banier* not entering into this beautiful Contrivance, is puzzled ^e to account for *Ovid's* bringing in *Pythagoras* so much out of Course. The best Reason he can think of, is that the Poet having finished the *historical* Metamorphosis, goes on to the *natural*; which *Pythagoras* is made to deliver to the *Crotoniates*. But this is not Fact: The Poet hath not finished the *historical* Metamorphosis: For when he has gone through the Episode of the *Crotoniates*, he reassumes his Subject, the *historical* Metamorphosis, through the remaining Part of the last Book; which ends with the Change of *Cæsar* into a Comet. Had not this then been the true Reason of *Ovid's* introducing *Pythagoras*, we should not have found him *here*, but in the *Greek Division*, to which he properly belonged; where the famous Circumstance of his *Golden Thigh*, and the shewing it at the public Solemnity of the Olympic Games, would have afforded the noblest and most entertaining Fable in the whole Poem.

What hath been said will, I suppose, tend to give us a different and higher Notion of this extraordinary Work; and to lessen our Surprize at the Author's Presumption, in so confidently predicting Immortality to his Performance.

^e *Met. d' Ovid. & des Expl. Hist. tom. iii.*

“ Jamque opus exegi, quod nec Jovis ira, nec ignis,
“ Nec poterit ferrum, nec edax abolere vetustas.

But to return to our Subject. From what hath been said of *Pythagoras's* Character, it appears, that he taught several Doctrines which he did not believe; and cultivated Opinions merely on the Score of their Utility. Now we have the express Testimony of *Timæus Locrus*, that, in the Number of *these*, was the popular Doctrine of the *Metempsychosis*. This very ancient *Pythagorean*, after having said^f, that the inculcating the Doctrine of a future State of Rewards and Punishments, was necessary to Society, goes on in this Manner: “ For
“ as we sometimes cure the Body with unwholesome
“ Remedies, when such as are most wholesome have
“ no Effect; so we restrain those Minds by *false*
“ Relations, which will not be persuaded by *true*:
“ There is a Necessity therefore of instilling the
“ Dread of those FOREIGN TORMENTS. As that
“ the Soul shifts and changes its Habitation; that
“ the Coward is thrust ignominiously into the Body
“ of a Woman; the Murderer imprisoned within
“ the Furr of a *Savage*; the Lascivious condemned
“ to animate a Boar or Sow; the Vain and Incon-
“ stant changed into Birds; and the Slothful and
“ Ignorant into Fishes. The Dispensation of all
“ these Things is committed in the second Period,
“ to *Nemesis* the Avenger; together with the Fu-
“ ries, her Assessors, the Inspectors of human
“ Actions; to whom God, the Sovereign Lord of
“ all Things, hath committed the Government of
“ the World, replenished with Gods and Men, and
“ other Animals; all which were formed after the

^f See the first Section of this Book.

“ perfect

“ perfect Model of the eternal and intellectual
“ Ideas.”

The Testimony is precise ; and as this Notion of the *Metempsychosis* was an inseparable Part of the Doctrine of a future State of Rewards and Punishments, if the *Pythagoreans* disbelieved the *one*, they must of Necessity reject the *other*.

But to see the full Force of our Conclusion, it will be necessary to explain, and inforce a *Distinction*, which by being totally overlooked, hath much embarrassed the whole Dispute.

The Doctrine of the *Metempsychosis*, as it signified a *moral Designation of Providence*, was, as we have said, believed by all Mankind ; and originally borrowed from *Egypt*. But *Pythagoras*, who had it, with the rest of the World, from thence, gave it a new Modification, and taught, *that the successive Transition of the Soul into other Bodies, was physical and necessary ; and exclusive of all moral Considerations whatsoever*. This was indeed peculiarly *his*, and in the Number of the *Esoteric* Doctrines of his School, delivered to be believed ; and was what contributed more perhaps than any Thing else to make the popular Notion of the *Metempsychosis*, in the Sense of a *Moral Designation*, to be esteemed *his*, though it was indeed common to all ; and de-

§ Ὡς γὰρ τὰ σώματα νοσώδεσι πόκα ὑγιάζομεν, εἴκα μὴ εἴκη τοῖς ὑγιεινολάτοις· ἔτω τὰς ψυχὰς ἀπείργομεν ψεύδεσι λόγοις, εἴκα μὴ ἀγῆται ἀλαθέσι· λέγουσι δ' ἀναγκαίως καὶ ΤΙΜΩΡΙΑΙ ΞΕΝΑΙ, ὡς μελενδιομόρην τῶν ψυχῶν, καὶ μὴ δειλῶν, ἐς γυναικέα σκάνεα, ποθ' ὕβριν ἐκδιδόμενα· καὶ ὅ μισαιφόνων, ἐς θηρίων σώματα, ποτὶ κόλασιν λαβῶν δ' ἐς συῶν ἢ κάπρων μορφάς· κάφων δ' καὶ μελεώρων, ἐς πτηνῶν ἀεροπόρων· δρυῶν δ' καὶ ἀπράκτων, ἀμαθῶν τε καὶ ἀνοήτων, ἐς τῶν καὶ ἐνύδρων ἰδέαν· ἀπαντα δ' αὐτὰ ἐν δούλερᾳ πορεύειν ἃ Νέμεσις στυδιέχεινε, σὺν δαίμοσι παλαμναίοις χθονίοις τε, τοῖς ἐπόπλαις καὶ ἀνθρωπίνων· οἷς ὁ πάντων ἀγεμὼν θεὸς ἐπέτρεψε διοίκησιν κόσμῳ, συμπεπληρωμένῳ καὶ θεῶν τε καὶ ἀνθρώπων, καὶ τε ἄλλων ζώων· ὅσα δεδαμνίσθηται ποτ' εἰκόνα τῶν δρῖσαν εἶδεθ' αἰωνίῳ καὶ νοητῷ. *De Anima Mundi, sub fin.*

livered

livered by him, as appears from *Timæus*, amongst the *Exoteric* Doctrines, whose End was Utility, and not Truth.

How destructive this mere *Pythagoric* Notion of the *Metempsychosis* was to the Doctrine of a future State of Rewards and Punishments, *Ovid*, who well understood the Secret of the *Distinction*, evidently perceived, where he makes *Pythagoras*, in delivering the *Esoteric* Doctrine of his School to the *Crotoniates*, reject a future State of Rewards and Punishments, on the very Principle of *his own Metempsychosis*, though the *general Metempsychosis* was an inseparable and essential Part of that State :

- “ O genus attonitum gelidæ formidine mortis,
- “ Quid Styga, quid tenebras, & nomina vana timetis,
- “ Materiem vatum, falsique pericula mundi ?
- “ Corpora, five rogos flammâ, seu tabe vetustas
- “ Abstulerit, mala posse pati non ulla putetis.
- “ Morte carent animæ : *semperque* priore relictâ
- “ Sede, novis domibus vivunt, habitantque receptæ.

The not attending to this *Distinction* hath much perplexed even the best modern Writers on the Subject of *Pythagoras*. Mr. *Dacier*, in his Life of that Philosopher, when he comes to speak of the Doctrine of the *Metempsychosis*, advances crudely, that all Antiquity have been deceived in thinking *Pythagoras* really believed it. And, for his Warrant, quotes the Passage from *Timæus*, which we have given above. Mr. *Le Clerc*^h, scandalized at this Assertion, affirms as crudely, that he did believe it ; and endeavours to prove his Point by divers Arguments, and Passages of Antiquity : In which Dispute, neither of them being aware of the two different Sorts of the *Metempsychosis*, have with much

^h *Bibl. Choisie*, tom. 1. 10. Art. 2. Sect. 5.

Confusion, reciprocally divided the right and the wrong in this Question, between them. *Dacier* was surely in the Right, in supposing *Pythagoras* did not believe the *Metempsychosis*, as it is delivered by his Disciple *Timæus*; but in the Wrong to conclude that therefore he believed none at all. And *Le Clerc* was in the Right, in thinking he did believe some sort of *Metempsychosis*; but in the Wrong to maintain, that this sort was the popular moral Notion of it. In a Word, the Proofs *Dacier* brings, conclude only against his believing a moral Transmigration; and those *Le Clerc* opposes, only for his believing a natural one. While neither, as we say, apprehending there were two Kinds, the one common to all, the other peculiar to that Philosopher, they have both run into great Mistakes.

I will beg leave to give one Instance from *Le Clerc*; as it will contribute in general to illustrate our Subject, and at the same time throw considerable Light on the latter Part of the Passage, we have but now quoted from *Timæus*. *Dacier* had urged that Passage, in Proof of *Pythagoras*'s not believing the *Metempsychosis*; and *Le Clerc*, the same Passage to prove he did, because the Author in Conclusion expressly affirms, *that the Dispensation of the Metempsychosis is committed in the second Period to Nemesis the Avenger*. Ἀπάντα ὃ ταῦτα ἐν δόλῳ παρέδωκε ἡ Νέμεσις ΣΥΝΔΙΕΚΡΙΝΕ. *Le Clerc* having translated these Words, adds, *I have translated these Words verbatim, that the Reader may see he talks seriously*ⁱ. But whoever reads the whole Passage, which speaks of the Doctrine as *useful* and not *true*, as plainly as can be done by Words, will be forced to own that by the Phrase, *Nemesis decrees*,

ⁱ J'ai traduit ces dernieres paroles de Timée mot pour mot, à fin que l'on pût voir qu'il parle serieusement. *Bibl. Choisie*, tom. 10. p. 193.

the Author meant, *it must be taught that Nemesis decrees.* But this Circumstance of *Nemesis* is remarkable; and, when explained, will put the Matter out of all question. There were two kinds, as we have said, of the *Metempsychosis*, which the *Pythagoreans* taught, the *Moral* and the *Natural*. The *latter* they believed; the *first* they did not. So that *Timæus* speaking here of the *Metempsychosis* as a Fable, useful for the People to credit; lest the Reader should mistake him as meaning the *natural*, he adds the Circumstance of *Nemesis*, to confine all he said to the *moral Metempsychosis*.

II. PLATO is next in order: He likewise greatly affected the Character of *Lawgiver*; and actually composed Laws for several People, as the *Syracusians* and *Cretans*; but with what kind of Spirit we may judge, by his refusing that Employment from the *Thebans* and *Arcadians*, as soon as he understood they were averse to *Equality of Possessions*^k. The Truth is, his *philosophic* Character, which was always predominant, as in *Pythagoras* the *legislative*, gave his Politics a Cast of Refinement and Speculation, that made his Schemes of Government very impracticable, and even unnatural. So that tho' his Knowledge of human Nature was indeed great and profound, and therefore highly commended by *Cicero*^l, yet his perpetual Refinement brought him at length into such Contempt as a Writer of Politics, that *Josephus* tells us, though *he was in so high Glory and Admiration amongst the Greeks, for his superior Virtue and Eloquence to all the rest of the Philosophers*, yet *he was almost laughed at to his Face, and ridiculed with the utmost Severity by those*

^k See *Ælian. Var. Hist.* l. 2. c. 42.

^l Deus ille noster Plato in πολιτεία. See B. 2. § 3.

who pretended to a high Knowledge in Politics ^m.

The only Greek Masters he followed, were *Pythagoras* and *Socrates*: both these he much admired. From the first he took his Fondness for Geometry, his Fanaticism of Numbers, his Ambition for Law-giving, and the Doctrine of the *Metempsychosis*: From the latter, the Study of Morals, and the *Mode* of Disputation.

This was a monstrous Mis-alliance: For could any thing be more inconsistent than either the *Character* or the *Philosophy* of his two Masters? The *one* dogmatized in the most sublime and abstruse Questions of Nature; the *other* gave up the *clearest* and most vulgar, as altogether incomprehensible. The *Samian* Lawgiver aimed only at *Utility*, and the moral *Athenian* laboured after *Truth*.

We need not then any longer wonder at the Obscurity of Contradiction, in which *Plato's* Writings lie involved. It had for its Cause not only what arose from the *double Doctrine*, a thing common to all the Philosophers; but what likewise proceeded from the joint Profession of two so contrary Philosophies. This Effect could not escape the Notice of *Eusebius*: Hear then (says he) the Greeks themselves, by their best and most powerful Speaker, one while rejecting, and another while again adopting the FABLES ⁿ.

However it was the abstruse Philosophy of *Pythagoras* he was most attached to, for the sake of

^m Πλάτων ὃ θαυμαζόμενον ὡς τὰ τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν, ὡς καὶ σεμνότητι βίᾳ διενεγκῶν καὶ δυνάμει λόγων, καὶ πειθοῖ πάντας ὑπεράρας τὰς ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ γενεονότας, ὑπὸ τῶν φασκόντων δεινῶν εἶναι τὰ πολιτικὰ, μικρὸν δὲ χλευαζόμενον, καὶ κωμωδόμενον ἀγατελεῖ. *Cont. Ap.* l. 2. § 31.

ⁿ Ἄκκε δ' ἐν αὐτῶν Ἑλλήνων δι' ἐνὸς ἑ πάντων ὄρεται, τότε μὲν ἐξωθῆναι, τότε δ' ἐν πάλιν εἰσποιημέναι τὰς μύθους. *Præp. Evang.* p. 47. *Steph. Ed.* See what has been farther said on this Matter p. 358. Note (v).

which,

which, he assumed also the Legislative Part, and in Imitation of his Master, travelled into *Egypt*; and was initiated into the Mysteries of the Priesthood. It was this made *Xenophon*, the faithful Follower of *Socrates*, say, that *Plato* had adulterated the pure and simple Philosophy of their Master; and *was IN LOVE with Egypt, and the portentous Wisdom of Pythagoras* °.

But of all the *Egyptian Inventions*, and *Pythagoric Practices*, nothing pleased him more than that of the *double Doctrine*, and the Division of his Auditors into the *Exoteric* and *Esoteric* Classes: He more professedly than any other, avowing those Principles, on which that Distinction was founded, such as, — *That it is for the Benefit of Mankind, that they should be often deceived — That there are some Truths it is not fit the People should know — That the World is not to be entrusted with the true Notion of God*: And more openly philosophising upon that Distinction in his Writings, Thus in his Books of Laws, (which we shall see presently were of the *Exoteric* kind) where he defends the popular Opinion which held the Sun, Moon, Stars, and Earth, to be Gods, against the Theory of *Anaxagoras*, that taught the Sun was a Mass of Fire, the Moon an habitable Earth, &c. his great Objection to the *new Philosophy*, as he calls it, is, that it was an Inlet to Atheism; for the common People, when they once found those to be no Gods, which they had conceived such, would be apt to conclude there were none at all: But in his *Cratylus*, which was of the *Esoteric* kind, he laughs at the Ancients for worshipping the Sun and Stars as Gods.

In a Word, the Ancients thought this Distinction of the *double Doctrine*, so necessary a Key to

° *Ἀγύπτις ἡρώδης, καὶ τῆς Πυθαγόρου τετραλώδης σοφίας.*

Plato's Writings, that they composed Discourses on it. *Numenius*, a *Pythagorean* and *Platonist* both in one, wrote a Treatise (now lost) of the secret Doctrines (that is, the real Opinions) of *Plato*^p, which would probably, have given great Light to our present Question, had it wanted it. But *Albinus* an old *Platonist*, has in some Measure supplied this Loss, by his *Introduction to the Dialogues of Plato*^q. From whence it appears, that those very Books, in which *Plato* details out the Doctrine of a future State of Rewards and Punishments, are all of the *Exoteric* kind. For in that Class, *Albinus* ranks^r the *Criton*, *Phædo*, *Minos*, *Symposium*, *Laws*, *Epistles*, *Epinomis*, *Menexenus*, *Clitophon*, and *Philebus*.

There is an odd Passage in *Cicero*^s, which seems to regard the *Phædo* in this very Light, of a mere *Exoteric* Composition, as it concerns the Doctrine of a future State of Rewards and Punishments. The *Auditor* is advised to read the *Phædo*, to confirm his Belief in this Point; to which he replies, *Feci mehercule, & quidem sæpius: sed NESICIO QUOMODO dum lego assentior: cum posui librum, & mecum ipse de immortalitate animorum cæpi cogitare, assensio omnis illa elabitur*. The only reasonable Account I can give of this Reflection is, that the *Phædo* being an *Exoteric* Dialogue, and wrote for the People, was esteemed by the Learned, as a kind of philosophical Romance: But while a Reader, though in the Secret, is actually intent upon such a Work (if, like this, a Master-piece for Style and Composition) he is so captivated with the Charms and *Lenocinium* of those Ornaments, that he forgets for a Moment

^p Περὶ τοῦ Πλάτωνος ἀπορρήτων. Teste Euseb. l. 13. c. 4, 5. *Præp. Evang.*

^q Apud Fabric, *Bib. Græc.* l. 3. c. 2. ^r Sect. 5.

^s *Tusc. Disp.* l. i. c. 5.

the Drift of the Author, and falls into the vulgar Imposition. But having thrown the Book aside, grown cool, and reflected on those Principles concerning God and the Soul, held in common by the Philosophers (of which more hereafter) all the bright Colouring disappears, the real Design obtrudes itself, & *assensio omnis illa elabitur*. A parallel Passage in *Seneca's Epistles*, will explain, and seems to justify this Interpretation. *Quomodo molestus est jucundum somnium videnti, qui excitat; aufert enim voluptatem, etiamsi falsam, effectum tamen veræ habentem; sic epistola tua mihi fecit injuriam; revocavit enim me cogitatione aptæ traditum, & iturum, si licuisset, ulterius. Juvabat de æternitate animarum quærere, imo mehercule credere. Credebam enim facile opinionibus magnorum virorum, rem gratissimam promittentium magis quam probantium! Dabam me spei tantæ. Jam eram fastidio mihi, jam reliquias ætatis infractæ contemnebam, in immensum illud tempus & in possessionem omnis ævi transiturus: Cum subito experrectus sum, epistola tua accepta, & tam bellum somnium perdidi.*

The *Platonic Philosophy* being then entirely *Pythagorean* in the Point in Question, and this latter rejecting the Doctrine of a future State of Rewards and Punishments, we might fairly conclude them both under the same Predicament.

But as *Plato* is esteemed the peculiar Patron of this Doctrine; chiefly, I suppose, on his being the first who brought Reasons for the Eternity of the Soul: *Primum de animorum æternitate non solum sensitse idem quod PYTHAGORAS, sed RATIONEM etiam attulisse, says Cicero*^v; on this account, it will be proper to be a little more particular.

I. First then, it is very true, that *Plato* has argued much for the *Eternity*, or, if you will, for

^v Epist. 102.

^v *Tuscul. Disp.* l. 1. c. 17.

the *Immortality* of the Soul. But to know *what sort of Immortality* he meant, we need only consider *what sort of Arguments* he employs. Now *these*, which he was so famous for inventing and enforcing, were *natural* and *metaphysical*, fetched from the *Essence* and *Qualities* of the Soul; which therefore concluded only for its *Permanency*; and this he certainly believed^w. But for any *moral Arguments*, from which only a future State of Rewards and Punishments can be deduced, he resolves them all into Tradition, and the Religion of his Country, καθάπερ ὁ νόμος ὁ πάτριος λέγει, as he expresses it in his *twelfth Book of Laws*.

2. As the inventing Reasons for the Immortality of the Soul, was *one Cause* of his being held the grand Patron of this Belief; so *another* was his famous Refinement (for it was indeed *his*) of the *natural Metempsychosis*, the peculiar Doctrine of the *Pythagoreans*. This *natural Metempsychosis* was, as we have said, that *the successive Transition of the Soul into other Bodies was physical and necessary, and exclusive of all moral Designation whatsoever*. Plato, on receiving this Notion from his Master, gave it this additional Improvement; *that those Changes and Transitions were the Purgations of impure Minds, unfit, by Reason of the Pollutions they had contracted, to re-ascend the Place from whence they came, and rejoin that Substance from whence they were discerped; and consequently, that pure immaculate Souls were exempt from this Transmigration*. Thus *Plato's Metempsychosis* (which was as peculiarly his, as the other was *Pythagoras's*) seemed to have something of a moral Designation in it, which his Master's had not; nor did it, like *that*, necessarily subject all to it, without Distinction, or for the

^w Tot rationes attulit [Plato] ut velle ceteris, sibi certè persuasisse videatur. Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* l. i. c. 21.

same Length of Time. In this then they differed^x: But how much they agreed in excluding the Notion of all future State of Reward and Punishment, will be seen, when in the next Section we come to shew what a kind of Existence it was, that *Pythagoras* and *Plato* afforded to the Soul, when it had rejoined that universal Substance, from which it was discerped.

3. However it is very true, that in his Writings he inculcates the Doctrine of a future State of Rewards and Punishments: But this always in the grossest Sense of the Populace: That *the Souls of ill Men descended into Asses and Swine*; — that *the Uninitiated lay in Mire and Filth*; — that *there were three Judges of Hell*; and talks much of *Styx, Cocytus, Acheron, &c.* and all so seriously^y, as shews he had a mind to be believed. But did he himself believe them? We may be assured he did not: for being the most spiritualized of the Philosophers, had he really believed a future State of Rewards and Punishments, he would have refined and purified it, as he did the Doctrine of the Eternity of the Soul, which he certainly believed. But he has as good as told us what he thought of it, in his *Epinomis*;

^x We have now explained the three Sorts of *Metempsychosis*, the Popular, that peculiar to *Pythagoras*, and that to *Plato*. The not distinguishing the *Platonic* from the *Pythagoric*, and both from the Popular, has occasioned even the Ancients to write with much Obscurity on this Matter. What can be more inexplicable and contradictory than the Account *Servius* hath given of it? “*Sciendum, non omnes animas ad corpora reverti. Aliquæ enim propter vitæ merita non redeunt; aliquæ redeunt propter malam vitam; aliquæ propter fati necessitatem.*” In *Æn.* VI. v. 713. Here he has jumbled into one, as the current Doctrine of the *Metempsychosis*, these three different and distinct Sorts: *Aliquæ propter vitæ merita non redeunt*, belonging to the Popular Notion; *Aliquæ redeunt propter fati necessitatem*, belonging to *Pythagoras*’s; and *Aliquæ propter malam vitam* to *Plato*’s.

^y In his *Gorgias, Phædo, and Republic.*

where, writing of the Condition of a good and wise Man after Death, he says, of *whom, both in jest and in earnest, I constantly affirm, that when such a one shall have finished his destined Course by Death, he shall, at his Dissolution, be stript of those many Senses which he here enjoyed; and then only participate of one simple Lot or Condition.* And, of MANY as he was here, being become ONE, he shall be happy, wise, and blessed^z. And more plainly, in his Commentary on *Timæus*, where he agrees to his Author's Opinion of the Fabulosity of the FOREIGN TORMENTS^a.

4. In Confirmation of all this, we observe in the last Place, that the most intelligent of the Ancients regarded what *Plato* said of a future State of Rewards and Punishments, as said in the *Exoteric* Way to the People, and not believed by himself.

The famous Stoic *Chrysippus*^b, when he blames

^z "Ον κὲ δι᾽ χυρίζομαι παίζων κὲ παρὰ δάζων ἅμα, ὅτε θανάτῳ τις τῶν τοιούτων τ᾽ αὐτῆ μοῖραν ἀναπλήσει, σχεδὸν ἑάνπερ ἀποθανῶν ἦ, μήτε μελίξειν ἔτι πολλῶν τότε καθάπερ νῦν αἰσθήσεων, μίας τε μοίρας μελεληρότα μόνον, κὲ ἐν πολλῶν ἓνα γεγονότα, εὐδαίμονά τε ἔσεσθαι κὲ σοφώτατον ἅμα κὲ μακάριον. *Sub fin.*

In this Passage I understand *Plato* secretly to intimate that, when he was *in jest*, he affirmed the future Happiness of good Men in a peculiar and distinct Existence, which is the popular Notion of a *future State*: But, when *in earnest*, that *that* Existence was not peculiar or distinct, but a *common Life* without particular Sensations, a *Resolution* into the τὸ ἐν. And it is remarkable that the whole Sentence has an affected Obscurity, capable of either Meaning. For πολλῶν αἰσθήσεων may either signify our many *Passions and Appetites*, or our many *Cogitations*. The denying our having the *first* of these, in a future State, makes nothing against a distinct Existence; but denying the *second*, does. His Disciple, *Aristotle*, seems to have understood that he meant it, when in earnest, in this *latter* Sense, and has so paraphrased it to exclude all peculiar Existence. See p. 426. There is the same Ambiguity in ἐν πολλῶν ἓνα, which may either signify that of his many Sensations he hath only one left, the feeling Happiness; or that, from being in the *Number of many Individuals* of the same Species, he is become *one*, by being joined to, and united with the universal Nature.

^a See p. 377.

^b *Plut. de Stoic. repug.*

Plato, as not rightly deterring Men from Injustice, by frightful Stories of future Punishments, takes it for granted that *Plato* himself gave no Credit to them: For he turns his Reprehension, not against that Philosopher's *wrong Belief*, but his *wrong Judgment*, in imagining such childish Terrors ^c could be useful to the Cause of Virtue.

Strabo plainly declares himself of the same Opinion, when speaking of the *Indian Brachmans*, he says, that *they had invented Fables in the manner of Plato, concerning the Immortality of the Soul, and a future Judgment; and other Things of the same Nature*^d.

Celsus owns that all *Plato* tells us of a future State, and the happy Abodes of the Virtuous, is an Allegory. “But what (says he) we are to understand by these things, is not easy for every one to find out. To be Master of this, we must be able to comprehend his Meaning, when he says, *they cannot, by Reason of their Imbecillity and Sluggishness, penetrate into the highest Region. But was their Nature vigorous enough to raise itself to so sublime a Contemplation, then would they come to understand, that this was the true Heaven, and the true Irradiation*^e.” These remarkable Words, besides the general Conclusion to be drawn from them, confirm what we have said of the peculiar *Platonic Metempsychosis*. For here *Celsus* resolves all *Plato's* Mean-

^c Ὡς ἔδεν ἀφερόντα τ' Ἀκκῆς καὶ τ' Ἀλφειῆς, δι' ὧν τὰ παιδάκια εἰ κακῶς αἱ γυναικες ἀνείργουσι.

^d Παραπλέκσι δὲ καὶ μύθῳ, ὡς καὶ ΠΛΑΤΩΝ, περὶ τῆς ἀφ' ἡμετέρας ψυχῆς, καὶ τῆς καθ' ἑαυτὴν κινήσεως, καὶ ἄλλα ἰδιαιτὰ. Geogr. l. xv. p. 1040. Gron. Ed.

^e Τί δ' ἐπὶ τούτων ἐμφανίζει, ἢ παντὶ γινώσκει ῥαδίον· εἰ μὴ ὅστις ἐπαίειν δύναται, τί ποτ' ἐστὶν ἐκεῖνο ὃ φησιν· Ὑπὲρ ἀσθενείας καὶ βραδυτήτης ἔχ' ὅπως τ' εἴη διεξελθεῖν ἐπ' ἑξαίρετον τὸ αἶμα· καὶ εἰ ἡ φύσις ἱκανὴ εἴη ἀναχέειν θεωρεῖσθαι, γινώσκει αὖ ὅτι ἐκεῖνός ἐστιν ὁ ἀληθὺς ἕρως καὶ τὸ ἀληθινὸν φῶς. Orig. cont. Cels. l. vii. p. 352. Sp. Ed. To understand the ἀληθινὸν φῶς, we must consider that *Light*

ing, in his Representations of a future State of Rewards and Punishments, into *that*, and we shall see hereafter, that *that* was resolved into the Reunion of the Soul with the divine Nature, when it became *vigorous enough to penetrate the highest Region*.

We now come to the PERIPATETICS and STOICS, who will give us much less Trouble. For these having in some Degree, though not quite, thrown off the Legislative Character, spoke much open against a future State of Rewards and Punishments. That the Difference in this Point, between them and the *Platonists*, was only from less to more Reserve, appears from their all having the same common Principles of philosophising, as we learn from *Cicero*^f.

III. ARISTOTLE was the Disciple of *Plato*, and his Rival. This Emulation, though it disposed him to take a different Rout to Fame, in a Province yet unoccupied, and to throw off the Legislative Character; yet it set him upon writing Books of *Laws* and *Politics*, in Opposition to his Master; whom he takes every Occasion to contradict.

He observed indeed the ancient Method of the double Doctrine, but with less Caution and Reserve. For, whereas the *Pythagoreans* and *Platonists* kept this Practice amongst the Secrets of their Schools, he seems willing that all the World should take Notice of it, by giving public Directions to distinguish the two Kinds^g. Accordingly, in his *Nicom-*

was one of the most important Circumstances of the *Pagan Elysium*, as we may see in the Chapter of the Mysteries; where a certain ravishing and divine Light is represented, as making it so recommendable; according to that of *Virgil*:

“Largior hic campos æther & lumine vestit

“Purpureo ———

^f *Acad. Quæst.* lib. 1.

^g See *Cic. Ep. ad Att.* lib. iv. Ep. 16. — in singulis libris [de Republica] utor procemiis, ut Aristoteles in iis, quos *ἐκλογικὰς* vocat ———

machian

machian Ethics, he expresses himself without any Ceremony, and in the most dogmatic Way, against a future State of Rewards and Punishments. *Death* (says he) *is of all Things the most terrible. For it is the final Period of Existence. And beyond that, it appears, there is neither Good nor Evil for the dead Man to dread or hope*^h.

IV. ZENO the Founder of the Porch, followed the Mode, in Writing of *Laws*, and a *Republic*. Agreeably to this Part of his Character, we find by *Lactantius*, that he taught a future State of Rewards and Punishments in the very Terms of *Plato*: *Esse inferos Zeno Stoicus docuit; & sedes piorum ab impiis esse discretas; & illos quidem quietas ac delectabiles incolere regiones, hos vero luere pœnas in tenebrosis locis atque in cœni voraginibus horrendis*ⁱ. And yet, not to mention that his Follower *Chrysippus* laughed at these Things, as the most childish of all Terrors, we know the philosophic Principle of his School was, *that the Soul died with the Body*^k. Indeed to compliment their *wise Man*, they taught that *his Soul* held it out till the general Conflagration: By which, we shall see, they meant just nothing, when we come to speak of their Opinion concerning the Nature and Duplicity of the Soul.

However, it was not long before the *Stoics* quite laid aside the Legislative Character; for which their Master appears to have had no Talents, as we may judge by what he lays down in his *Republic*, that *States should not busy themselves in erecting Tem-*

^h Φοβερώτατον δ' ὁ θάνατος· πέρας γὰρ καὶ εἶναι ἔτι τῷ τεθνεῶτι δοκεῖ, ὅτε ἀσπλόν, ὅτε κενόν ἐστίν. *Eth. ad Nicom. lib. iii. c. 6.* p. 130. Ed. Han. 1610. 8^{vo}.

ⁱ *Inst. lib. vii. sect. 7.*

^k Οἱ Στωϊκοὶ ἐξέτισαν τὰ σωμάτων ὑποφύεσθαι, καὶ μὴ ἀσθενεῖσθαι ἅμα τοῖς συσπείμασι ψυχῆς (αὐτὴν γὰρ ἐστὶ τὴν ἀπαιδύτων) καὶ ἡ ἰσχυροτέρου, οἷά ἐστι τῆς ΣΟΦΟΥΣ, καὶ μέχρι τῆς ἐκπύρωσεως. *Plut. de Plac. Phil. lib. iv. c. 7.*

ples; for we ought not to think there is any thing holy, or sacred, or that deserves any real Esteem, in the Work of Masons and Labourers¹. The Man had forgot that he was writing Laws for a People, and turns impertinently to philosophise with the Stoical Sage. The Truth is, this Sect had never any Name for Legislation: And so in time, as we say, laid the Study of it quite aside; and then wrote without the least Reserve, against a future State of Rewards and Punishments.

Thus *Epietetus*, a thorough Stoic, if ever there was any, speaking of Death, says, “But whither do you go? no where to your Hurt: You return from whence you came: To a friendly Conso- ciation with your kindred Elements: What there was of the Nature of Fire in your Composition, returns to the Element of Fire; what there was of Earth, to Earth; what of Air, to Air; and of Water, to Water. There is neither Hell, Acheron, Cocytus, or Pyriphlegethon^m.”

Seneca, in his Consolation to *Marcia*, Daughter of the famous *Cremutius Cordus* the Stoic, is not at all behind him, in the frank Avowal of the same Principles. *Cogita, nullis defunctum malis affici: illa quæ nobis Inferos faciunt terribiles, fabulam esse: nullas imminere mortuis tenebras, nec carcerem, nec flumina flagrantia igne, nec oblivionis amnem, nec tribunalia, & reos & in illa libertate tam laxa ullos iterum Tyrannos. Luserunt ista poëtæ, & vanis nos*

¹ Περὶ τῆς σοφίας ἡ καὶ ἡμεῖς, ὅτι καὶ Ζήνων ὁ Κιτληδὺς ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ φησὶν· Ἱερὰ τε οἰκοδομεῖν ἔδεν δεήσει, Ἱερὸν γὰρ ἔδεν χρὴ νομίζειν, εἰδὲ πολλὰ ἄξιον καὶ ἅγιον οἰκοδόμων τε ἔργον καὶ βαναύσων. *Apud Orig. cont. Cels. p. 6.*

^m — Πᾶς; εἰς ἔδεν δεινόν, ἀλλ' ὅθεν ἐρχέσθαι, εἰς τὰ φίλα καὶ συγγενῆ, εἰς τὰ σοιχεῖα· ὅσον ἦν ἐν σοὶ πῦρ, εἰς πῦρ ἀπεισιν, ὅσον ἦν γῆδιον, εἰς γῆδιον· ὅσον πνευμαλίη, εἰς πνευμάτιον· ὅσον ὑδαλίη, εἰς ὑδάτιον· εἰς Ἄδης, εἰς Ἀχέρων, εἰς Κωκυτός, εἰς Πυριφλεγέθων. *Apud. Arrian. lib. iii. c. 13.*

agitavere terroribus. Mors omnium dolorum & solutio est, & finis: ultra quam mala nostra non exeunt, quæ nos in illam tranquillitatem, in qua, antequam nasceremur, jacuimus, reponitⁿ.

Having now gone through these FOUR FAMOUS SCHOOLS, I should here have closed the Section, but that I imagined the curious Reader would be desirous to know what CICERO thought on this important Question: Cicero, who finished the Conquests of his Countrymen in Greece, and brought home in Triumph, those only Remains of their Grandeur, their PHILOSOPHY and ELOQUENCE°. But there are almost insuperable Difficulties in getting to his real Sentiments. I shall mention some of the chief.

1. As, first, that which arises from the Practice of the *Double Doctrine*, a thing common to the Greek Philosophy; how much it contributed to hide the real Sentiments of the Writer, we have seen above. That Tully followed this Method, appears from his Letters to Atticus^p, where he calls Plato, who was most immersed in it, his God; *Deus ille noster, Plato*.

2. Another Difficulty arises from the peculiar Genius of the Sect he espoused, the *new Academy*; which, as we have seen above, was entirely *sceptical*; and professed a Way of philosophising, in which there was no Room to *interfere* with their own Opinions, or indeed to *have* any. It is true, were we to consider Tully as a *strict Academic*, in the Grecian Sense of adhering to a Sect, our Enquiry would be presently at an End; or as fruitless as his who goes to a blind Man for an Idea of Colour: But he pro-

ⁿ Cap. 19. ° — Τὸν δ' Ἀπολλώνιον — εἰπεῖν, Σὲ μὲν, ὃ Κικέρων, ἐπαινῶ καὶ θαυμάζω, τὸ δ' Ἑλλάδι οἰκίειν τὴν τύχην, ὁρῶν, ὃ μόνον τὴν καλῶν ἡμῶν ὑπελείπει, καὶ ταῦτα Ῥωμαίοις διὰ σὲ προσ-
γυρόμενα ΠΑΙΔΕΙΑΝ τε καὶ ΛΟΓΟΝ. *Plut. Vit. Cic.*

^p Lib. iv. Ep. 16.

ferred this Philosophy in a much laxer Way, as we shall now see.

3. Which leads us to another Difficulty, arising from the manner, in which the *Greek* Philosophy was received in *Italy*. The *Romans* in general were, in their Manners and Dispositions, little qualified for speculative Sciences: When they had got footing, and began a Commerce for Arts, in *Greece*, they at first entertained great Jealousies of their *Sophists*, and used them roughly: And it was long before they could be persuaded to think favourably of Men, who professed themselves always able and ready to dispute for or against Virtue indifferently⁹. And even then, *their Philosophy* was introduced into *Rome*, but as a more refined Species of Luxury for the Great; who were yet very far from the *Grecian* Humour, *jurare in verba Magistri*: They regarded the Doctrines of the Sect they espoused, not as a *Rule of Life*, but only as a kind of Furniture for *their Rhetoric Schools*; to enable them to invent readily, and reason justly in the Affairs of Life. *Tully*, who best knew on what footing it was received, where he ridicules *Cato* for an unfashionable Fellow, says no less: *Hæc homo ingeniosissimus M. Cato auctoribus eruditissimis inductus, arripuit, NEQUE DISPUTANDI CAUSA, UT MAGNA PARS, sed ita vivendi*^r. The least, then, we may conclude from

⁹ *Cicero* makes the famous Orator, *M. Antonius*, give this as the Reason why he hid his Knowledge of the *Greek* Philosophy from the People. — Sic decrevi [inquit *Antonius*] philosophari potius, ut *Neoptolemus* apud *Ennium*, *paucis*: *Nam omnino haud placet*. Sed tamen hæc est mea sententia, quam videbar exposuisse. Ego ista studia non improbo, moderata modò sint: opinionem illorum studiorum, & suspicionem artificii apud eos, qui res judicent, oratori adversariam esse arbitror. Imminuit enim & oratoris auctoritatem & orationis fidem. *De Orat.* l. ii. c. 37.

^r *Orat. pro Muræna*. It must be owned, that these Words at first Sight seem to have a quite different Signification; namely,

hence

hence is, that *Cicero*, laughing at those who espoused a Sect *vivendi causa*, did himself espouse the Academic, *disputandi causa*: which indeed he frankly enough confesses to his Adversary in this very Oration: *Fatebor enim, Cato, me quoque in adolescentia, diffisam ingenio meo, quæsisse adjumenta doctrinæ.* Which, in other Words, is, I myself espoused a Sect of Philosophy, for its Use in Disputation. This slippery Way, therefore, of professing the *Greek Philosophy*, must needs add much to the Difficulties of getting to the Writer's real Sentiments.

4. A fourth Difficulty arises from *Tully's* End and Design in writing his philosophical Works; which was, not to deliver his own Opinion on any Point, but to explain to his Countrymen, in the most intelligible Manner, whatsoever the *Greeks* had taught on every Article, whether of speculative or practical Knowledge: in the Execution of which Design, no Sect could so well serve his Purpose as the *New Academy*, whose Principle was, *not to interfere with their own Opinions*: And a Passage, in

that the particular Principles of the Stoics were espoused for their Use in Disputation: For it is to be observed, that this Sect was most famous for cultivating the *Art of Logic*; so that the Followers of it were more frequently called *Dialectici* than *Stoici*. Notwithstanding I am persuaded the other Sense is the true. *Tully* introduces his Observation on *Cato's* Singularity in these Words: *Et quoniam non est nobis hæc oratio habenda aut cum imperita multitudine, aut in aliquo conventu agrestium, audacius paulo de studiis humanitatis, quæ & mihi & vobis nota & jucunda sunt, disputabo.* Here he expressly declares that his Design is, not to give his Thoughts of the *Stoics* in particular, though they furnished the Occasion; but of the *Greek Philosophy* in general, *de studiis humanitatis*. He then enumerates the *Stoical Paradoxes*, and concludes — *Hæc homo ingeniosissimus M. C. — arripuit, &c.* But had it been his Intention to have confined the Observation above to the *Stoical Sect*, on account of their great Name in *Logic*, he must have said *hanc*, not *hæc*: it being their *Logic*, not their *Paradoxes*, that was of use in their *Disputations*.

the first Book of his Academic Questions, inclines me to think he then espoused it, when he first entered upon that Design. *Varro*, one of the Dialogists, says to him: *Sed de teipso quid est quod audio?* *Tully* answers: *Quanam de re?* *Varro* replies: *Relictam a te VETEREM JAM, tractari autem NOVAM.* The Change then was late; and after the Ruin of the Republic, when *Cicero* had Leisure, in his Recess, to plan so great an Undertaking. This farther appears from a Passage in his *Nature of the Gods*^r, where he says that his espousing the *New Academy*, of a sudden, was a Thing altogether unlooked for. *Multis etiam sensi mirabile videri, eam nobis potissimum probatam esse philosophiam, quæ lucem eriperet & quasi noctem quandam rebus offunderet, desertæque disciplinæ, & jam pridem relictæ patrociniū NEC OPINATUM a nobis esse susceptum.* So that a learned Critic appears to have been mistaken, when he supposed this Choice was made in his Youth. *This Sect*, says he, [namely, the *New Academy*] *did best agree with the vast Genius and ambitious Spirit of YOUNG Cicero*^s.

5. But the principal Difficulty arises from the several various Characters he sustained in Life, and in his Writings; which habituated him to feign and dissemble his Opinions: Where, though he acted neither a weak nor an unfair Part, yet certainly a very impenetrable one, with regard to his real Opinions. He may be considered under the Characters of an Orator, a Statesman, and a Philosopher; all equally personated^t; and no one more the real Man,

^r *Lib. i. c. 3.* ^s *Remarks upon a late Discourse of Free-thinking, Part ii. Rem. 53.*

^t Thus I shew what *Part* it is I mean, when I say *Tully acted neither a weak nor unfair Part.* I have not left the Reader to conjecture; I have confined him to my Meaning. I here, expressly tell him, *a personated Part of Orator, Statesman, and*
than

than the other: But each taken up, and laid down, for the Occasion, as appears by the numerous Inconsistencies he committed in the Course of his sustaining them. In his Oration *de Harusp. respon. in Senatu*, when the popular Superstition was inflamed by present Prodigies, he gives the highest Character of the Wisdom of their Ancestors, as the Founders of their established Religion: *Ego verò primum ha-*

Philosopher. Let us see then whether the *Part* was weak or unfair. 1. As a STATESMAN, he discharged the Office of a real Patriot, *Urbis Conservator & Parens* (as he himself says) at that Time torn in Pieces by the Dissensions between Senate and People. But was this done by speaking his real Sentiments to both? Both were very faulty; and, as faulty Folks generally are, too angry to hear Reason. I have given an Instance below, in the Case of the *Catiline Conspiracy*. Was that wisely conducted? The Issue declared it. He saved the Republic. With regard then to his personated Character, as *Statesman*, I say he acted no weak Part. 2. As a PHILOSOPHER, I have observed just above, that his End and Design in writing was not to deliver his own Opinion, but to explain the *Grecian Philosophy*. On which Account he blames those as too curious, who were for knowing his own Sentiments. In pursuance of this Design he brings in *Stoics, Epicureans, Platonists, Academics* New and Old, and who not, in order to instruct the *Romans* in their several various Opinions, and several ways of Reasoning. But whether it be himself or others that are brought upon the Stage, it is the *Academic*, not *Cicero*, who delivers his Opinion. Now when he has told us all this, was not every thing fair? Was it not allowable, in personating others, to feign and dissemble? Are not the Writings themselves *dramatical*? And is not this a Licence always indulged in a Fiction or Drama? What should hinder me then from saying that, with regard to his Conduct in his Philosophic Character, he acted no unfair Part? 3. As an ORATOR, he was an Advocate for his Client, or more properly personated him. Here then, without question, he was to feign and dissemble his own Opinions, and to speak those of his Client. And though some of those who call themselves *Casuists* have held it unlawful for an Advocate to defend what he thinks an ill Cause, yet I apprehend it to be the natural Right of every Member of Society, whether accusing or accused, to speak freely and fully for himself: And, if, either by a legal or natural Incapacity, this cannot be done in Person, to have a Proxy provi-

beo auctores ac magistros religionum colendarum majores nostros: Quorum mihi tanta fuisse sapientia videtur, ut satis superque prudentes sint, qui illorum prudentiam, non dicam assequi, sed, quanta fuerit, perspicere possint. Yet in his *Treatise of Laws*, as the Reader has seen above^v, he frankly declares, that *the Folly of their Ancestors had suffered many Depravities to be brought into Religion.* Here the Philosopher confuted the Statesman; as, in another Instance, the Statesman seems to have got the better of the Philosopher. He defends the Paradoxes of the Stoics in a philosophical Dissertation: But in his Oration for *Muræna*, he ridicules those Paradoxes in the freest Manner. Nor under one and the same Character, at one and the same Time, is he more consistent. In *the Orations against Catiline*, when he opens the Conspiracy to the *Senate*, he represents it as the most deep laid Design, which had infected all Orders and Degrees of Men amongst them: Yet, when he brings the same Affair before the *People*, he talks of it as only the wild and senseless Frolic of a few desperate Wretches; it being necessary for his Purpose, that the *Senate* and *People*

ded or allowed by the State. I apprehend all States have done it, and that every *Advocate* is such a *Proxy*. Tully therefore *feigning and dissembling* his own Opinions under this Character, *acted*, I say, *neither a weak nor an unfair Part.*

But now had I been so foolish, or so wicked, to excuse any one for lying (as a Man and Member of Society at large) I had known as little of *English* as of *Virtue*, to talk of his acting no *weak Part*, an Expression that relates only to his *Understanding*; or no *unfair Part*, an Expression that relates to his *Breeding*, to a Point of Civility in not imposing on good Company, rather than to his *Morals*. Common Sense and Language must have directed me to say, *neither a wicked nor unfaithful Part*, Lying being indeed a Crime both against God and our Neighbour. But I have had to do with Men who could not see this Difference. A similar Instance of their *Discernment* is given p. 2. Note^b.

^v See Book II. Sect. 6.

should

should view the Conspiracy in those two different Lights.

We meet with Numbers of the like Contradictions, delivered in his own Person, under his Philosophic Character. Thus, in his *Books of Divination*, he combats all Augury, &c. and yet, in his *Philosophic Treatise of Laws*, he delivers himself in their Favour, in so serious and positive a manner, that it is difficult not to believe him in earnest. In a Word, he laughed at the Opinions of the State, when he was amongst the Philosophers; he laughed at the Doctrines of the Philosophers, when he was cajoling an Assembly; and he laughed heartily at both, when withdrawn amongst his Friends in a Corner. Nor, which is the worst Part of the Story, has he given us any Mark to distinguish his Meaning: For, in his *Academic Questions*^w, he is ready to swear he always speaks what he thinks: *Jurarem per Jovem Deosque Penates me & ardere studio veri reperiendi, & ea sentire quæ dicerem*: Yet, in his *Nature of the Gods*^x, he has strangely changed his Note: *Qui autem requirunt, quid quaque de re ipsi sentiamus, curiosius id faciunt quam necesse est*.

If it be asked then, in which of his Writings we can have any reasonable Assurance of his true Sentiments? I reply, scarce in any but his EPISTLES. Nor is this said to evade any strong Evidence that may be found in his other Works, in favour of a future State of Rewards and Punishments: On the contrary, there are many very signal Instances of his Disbelief, as far as we can hazard a Judgment of his Mind. As in his *Offices*, which bids the fairest of any to come from his Heart, he delivers himself to purpose against it; as will appear in the next Section. And in his *Oration for Cluentius* to the

^w Lib. iv. Sect. 20.

^x Lib. i. Sect. 5.

Judges, he speaks with yet more Force on the same Side the Question: *Nam nunc quidem quid tandem illi mali mors attulit? Nisi forte ineptiis ac fabulis ducimur, ut existimemus illum apud inferos impiorum supplicia perferre, &c.* Quæ si falsa sunt, id quod omnes intelligunt, quid ei tandem aliud mors eripuit præter sensum doloris?

Nor will most of *those* Passages, which are usually brought in Proof of Tully's believing the *Immortality of the Soul*, stand in any Account against *these*: Because, as will be shewn in the next Section, they best agree to a *kind of Immortality* very consistent with a thorough Disbelief of a future State of Rewards and Punishments.

It is only then (as we say) in his *Epistles* to his Friends, where we see the *Man* divested of the *Politician*, the *Sophist*, and the *Advocate*: And there he professes his Disbelief of a future State of Rewards and Punishments in the frankest manner. To *L. Mescinius* he says: *Sed ut illa secunda moderatè tulimus, sic hanc non solum adversam, sed funditus eversam fortunam fortiter ferre debemus; ut hoc saltem in maximis malis boni consequamur, ut mortem, quam etiam beati contemnere debeamus, propterea quod nullum sensum esset habitura, nunc sic affecti, non modo contemnere debeamus, sed etiam optare.*^y In his *Epistle* to *Torquatus* he says: *Ita enim vivere ut non sit vivendum, miserrimum est. Mori autem nemo sapiens miserum dixit, ne beato quidem — Sed hæc consolatio levis est; illa gravior, qua te uti spero: Ego certe utor. Nec enim dum ero, angar ulla re, cum omni vacem culpa: Et si non ero, sensu omnino carebo.*^z Again, to the same Per-

^y *Fam. Ep. 1. v. Ep. 21.*

^z *Lib. vi. Ep. 3.* Some have taken the *ero* and *non ero*, in this Passage, to relate to *Existence in general*, and not to *living and dying*. But if that be the Meaning, *Cicero*, when from the

son^a: *Deinde quod mihi ad consolationem commune tecum est, si jam vocer ad exitum vitæ, non ab ea Republica avellar, qua carendum esse doleam, præsertim cum id sine ullo sensu futurum sit.* And again to his Friend *Toranius*^b: *Cum consilio profici nihil possit, una ratio videtur, quicquid evenerit, ferre moderate, præsertim cum omnium rerum mors sit extremum.* That *Cicero* here speaks his real Sentiments, is beyond all Question. These are Letters of Consolation to his Friends, when he himself, by reason of the ill State of public Affairs, much wanted Consolation; a Season when Men have least Disguise, and are most disposed to lay open their whole Hearts:

“ Nam veræ voces tum demum pectore ab imo

“ Ejiciuntur, & eripitur PERSONA, manet RES.

Lucret.

Here his *real* Sentiments^c are delivered positively; which in his *Tusculan Disputations* he advances only *Hypothetically*; but with a Clearness that well comments the Conciseness of the foregoing Passages.

latter, he concluded *sensu omnino carebo*, might well have applied the Proverb, which he quotes in this Epistle, of γλαῦκ' εἰς Ἀθήνας, in ridicule of this wonderful Discovery, *that, if he had no Being, he should have no Sense.* But the foregoing Quotation from the Epistle to *Mescinius*, in which is the same Thought I here contend for, and in the same Expression, puts the Meaning of this out of all Question.

^a Lib. vi. Ep. 4.

^b Lib. vi. Ep. 21.

^c The celebrated Author of the very learned and elegant *History of Cicero*, hath since turned this *Circumstance* to the Support of the contrary Opinion, with regard to his Hero's Sentiments: — “ But some (says he) have been apt to consider them [*i. e.* the Passages in *Tully's* Philosophic Writings in Favour of a future State] “ as the Flourishes rather of his Eloquence than “ the Conclusions of his Reason. Since in other Parts of his “ Works he seems to intimate not only a Diffidence, but a Disbelief of the Immortality of the Soul, and a future State of “ Rewards and Punishments, and especially in his Letters, where “ he is supposed to declare his Mind with the greatest Frank-

M. *Video te altè spectare & velle in Cælum migrare.*

A. *Spero fore, ut contingat id nobis. Sed fac, ut isti volunt, animos NON remanere post mortem. —*

M. *Mali vero quid affert ista sententia? Fac enim sic animum interire, ut corpus. Num igitur aliquis dolor, aut omnino post mortem SENSUS in corpore est? —*

Ne in animo quidem igitur SENSUS remanet, ipse enim nusquam est. — Hoc premendum etiam atque etiam est argumentum confirmato illo, de quo, si mortales animi sunt, dubitare non possumus, quin tantus interitus in morte sit, ut ne minima quidem suspicio SENSUS relinquatur^d. And that this was the very Language of the *Epicureans*, appears from the following Words of *Pliny*: *Post Sepulturam aliæ atque aliæ manium*

“ nefs. But — in a melancholy hour, when the Spirits are
 “ depressed, the same Argument would not appear to him with
 “ the same Force, but Doubts and Difficulties get the Ascen-
 “ dant, and what humoured his present Chagrin find the rea-
 “ diest Admission. The Passages alledged [*i. e.* in this Place
 “ of the *Div. Leg.*] “ were all of this kind, written in the Sea-
 “ son of his Dejection, when all things were going wrong with
 “ him, and in the height of *Cæsar*’s Power,” &c. Vol. II.
 p. 561. Ed. 4^{to}. Thus every thing, we see, hath two Acade-
 mical Handles. But still those are but a Right and a Wrong.
 My very candid Friend will therefore suffer me to distinguish.
 It is allowed that a desponding Temper, like that of *Cicero*’s
 will, in a melancholy hour, be always inclined to suspect the
 worst. But to what is it’s Suspicion confined? Without doubt
 to the Issue of that very Affair, which occasioned the Distress.
 A melancholy hour would have just the contrary Influence on
 his other Cogitations. And this is the wise Disposition of Na-
 ture; that the less Support the Mind hath persuaded itself it
 shall find in one quarter, the more it endeavours to make it up
 in an Abundance of Hope from another. So that unless *Cicero*
 was made differently from all other Men, one might venture to
 say, his *Hopes of future Good* (had his Philosophy permitted him
 to entertain any hopes at all) would have risen in Proportion to
 his *Fears of the present*. And this is seen every Day in fact.
 For it is nothing but this natural Disposition that makes Men of
 the World so generally fly even to Superstition for the Relief of
 their Misfortunes.

^d *Tusc. Disp.* lib. i. c. 34—36.

ambages. Omnibus a suprema die eadem, quæ ante primum: Nec magis a morte SENSUS ullus aut corpori aut animæ quam ante natalem. Eadem enim vanitas in futurum etiam se propagat, — alias immortalitatem animæ, alias transfigurationem, alias sensum inferis dando, & manes colendo, deumque faciendo, qui jam etiam homo esse desierit. — Quæ (malum) ista dementia, iterari vitam morte? Quæve genitis quies unquam, si in sublimi SENSUS animæ manet^e.

I will beg leave to conclude this Section with two general Observations. 1. We have given, just above, a Quotation from *Tully's* Oration for *Cluentius*, in which he, having ridiculed the popular Fables concerning a future State, subjoins, *if these are false, as all Men see they are, what hath Death deprived him of, besides a SENSE of Pain^f?* From this Inference of *Cicero's* it appears, that we have not concluded amiss, when, from several Quotations, interspersed throughout this Work, in which a Disbelief of the *common Notion* of a future State of Rewards and Punishments is implied, we have inferred the Writer's Disbelief of a future State of Rewards and Punishments in *general*. 2. We have seen the Philosophers of every Sect, one while speaking directly for, and another while, as directly against a future State of Rewards and Punishments, without intimating the least Change in their Principles, or making the least Hesitation in their Professions: So that either we must hold them guilty of the most gross and visible Contradictions, which their Characters will not suffer us to conceive of them; or else admit the Explanation given above of the *Double Doctrine*, and the different Methods of their *exoteric* and *esoteric* Discipline.

^e *Nat. Hist.* lib. vii. c. 55. ^f Quæ si falsa sunt, id quod omnes intelligunt, quid ei tandem aliud mors eripuit præter SENSUM doloris?

S E C T. IV.

NOTWITHSTANDING the full Evidence of the last Section, I suspect, the *general Prejudice*, supported by the Reasonableness of the *Doctrine* itself, will yet be apt to make the Reader suspend his Assent to our Conclusion.

I shall therefore, in the last Place, explain the CAUSES that kept the Philosophers *from believing*: And these will appear to have been fundamental Principles of the ancient *Greek* Philosophy, altogether inconsistent with the Doctrine of a future State of Rewards and Punishments.

But to give what we have to say its due Force, it will be proper to premise, that the Constitution of the *Greek* Philosophy, being above measure refined and speculative, it used always to be determined by *metaphysical* rather than by *moral* Principles, and to stick to all Consequences, how absurd soever, that were seen to arise from such Principles.

Of this, we have a famous Instance in the ancient *Democritic* Philosophy: which holding, that not only *Sensations*, but even the *Cogitations* of the Mind, were the mere Passion of the Thinker; and so, all Knowledge and Understanding the same Thing with Sense; the Consequence was, that there could not possibly be any Error of false Judgment; because all Passion was true Passion, and all Appearance true Appearance. From hence it followed, that the Sun and Moon were no bigger than they seemed: and these Men of Reason chose rather to avow this Conclusion, than renounce the metaphysic Principle that led them into it.

So just, we see, is that Censure which a celebrated *French* Writer passes upon them: *When the Philosophers once besot themselves with a Prejudice, they*
are

are even more incurable than the People themselves; because they besot themselves not only with the Prejudice, but with the false Reasonings employed to support it^g.

The Regard to metaphysic Principles being so great, we shall see, that the *Greek* Philosophers must of Necessity reject the Doctrine of a future State of Rewards and Punishments, how many invincible moral Arguments soever there really be in support of it, when we come to shew, that there were two METAPHYSICAL PRINCIPLES concerning GOD and the SOUL, universally embraced by all, which, while adhered to, necessarily exclude all Notion of a future State of Reward and Punishment.

The FIRST PRINCIPLE then, which led the Philosophers to conclude against a future State of Rewards and Punishments, was, THAT GOD COULD NEITHER BE ANGRY NOR HURT ANY ONE. This, *Tully* assures us was held universally, as well by those who believed a Providence, as by those who did not: *At hoc quidem COMMUNE EST OMNIUM PHILOSOPHORUM, non eorum modo, qui Deum nihil habere ipsum negotii dicunt, & nihil exhibere alteri: sed eorum etiam, qui Deum semper agere aliquid & moliri volunt, NUMQUAM NEC IRASCI DEUM NEC NOCERE^h.* What Conclusions follow from this Principle, against a future State of Rewards and Punishments, in the Opinion of *Cicero* himself, we shall now see. He is here commending *Regulus* for preferring the Public Good to his own, and the honest to the profitable; in dissuading the Release of the *Carthaginian* Prisoners, and returning back to

^g Quand les philosophes s'entêtent une fois d'un préjugé, ils sont plus incurables que le peuple même; parce qu'ils s'entêtent également & du préjugé & des fausses raisons dont ils le soutiennent. *Fontanelle Hist. des Oracles.*

^h *Offic. lib. iii. cap. 28.*

certain Misery, when he might have spent his Age at home in Peace and Pleasure. All this he observes was done out of Regard to his Oath. But it may, perhaps, says he, be objected, What is there in an Oath? The Violator need not fear the Wrath of Heaven; for all Philosophers hold, that *God cannot be angry or hurt any one*. He replies, that, indeed, it was a Consequence of the Principle of *God's not being angry*, that the perjured Man had nothing to fear from divine Vengeance: but then it was not this *Fear*, which was really nothing, but Justice and good Faith, that made the Sanction of an Oath. The Learned will chuse to hear him in his own Words: *M. Atilius Regulus Carthaginem rediit: neque eum caritas patriæ retinuit, nec suorum. Neque vero tum ignorabat se ad crudelissimum hostem, & ad exquisita supplicia proficisci: Sed jusjurandum conservandum putabat. Quid est igitur, dixerit quis, in jurejurando? num iratum timemus Jovem? At hoc quidem commune est omnium Philosophorum — NUMQUAM NEC IRASCI DEUM, NEC NOCERE. — Hæc quidem ratio non magis contra Regulum, quàm contra omne jusjurandum valet: Sed in jurejurando, non qui metus, sed quæ vis sit, debet intelligi. Est enim jusjurandum affirmatio religiosa: Quod autem affirmatè, quasi Deo teste, promiseris, id tenendum est: Jam enim non ad iram Deorum, quæ nulla est; sed ad justitiam & ad finem pertinetⁱ.*

Here we see *Tully* owns the Consequence of this universal Principle; that it quite overthrew the Notion of divine Punishments: and it will appear presently, that he was not singular in this Conclusion; but spoke the very Sense of his *Grecian* Masters.

A modern Reader, full of the philosophic Ideas of these late Ages, will be surprized, perhaps, to be told, that this Consequence greatly embarrassed

ⁱ Cap. 26, 27, 28, 29.

Antiquity; when He can so easily evade it, by distinguishing between human Passions and the Divine Attributes of Justice and Goodness: On which last the Doctrine of a future State of Rewards and Punishments is invincibly established. But the Ancients had no such precise Ideas of the Divine Nature: They knew not how to sever *Anger* from its Justice, nor *Fondness* from its Goodness^k.

This we shall now shew by an illustrious Instance, lest the Reader should suspect that, of an obscure speculative Principle, we have feigned *one* of general Credit and Influence.

LACTANTIUS having set up for the Defender of *Christianity*, found nothing so much opposed its Reception as the Doctrine of a FUTURE JUDGMENT, which the universal philosophic Principle, *that God could not be angry*, had altogether discredited. To strike then at the Root of this Evil, he composed his Discourse intituled, DE IRA DEI: For he had observed, he tells us, that this Principle was now much spread amongst the common People^l; he lays the Blame of it upon the Philosophers^m; and tells us, as *Tully* had done before, that all the Philosophers agreed to exclude the Passion of Anger from the Godheadⁿ.

^k The acutest Enemies of Religion amongst the Moderns too have thought this Argument strong enough to support their Cause. *Wilmot E. of Rochester*, in a Conversation with Bishop *Burnet* told him, that *he believed there was a Supreme Being: He could not think the World was made by chance, and the regular Course of Nature seemed to demonstrate the eternal Power of its Author. — He thought that God had none of those Affections of Love and Hatred, which breed Perturbation in us; and by consequence he could not see that there was to be either Reward or Punishment.* Some Passages of the Life and Death of *John Earl of Rochester*, p. 47.

^l Animadverti plurimos existimare non irasci Deum.

^m Idem tamen a Philosophis irretiti, & falsis argumentationibus capti. ⁿ Ita omnes Philosophi de ira consentiunt.

So that the general Argument *Lactantius* proposed to combat, was this :

*If God hath no Affections of Fondness or Hatred,
Love or Anger ; he cannot reward or punish.*

But he hath no Affections ; —

Therefore, &c.

Let us see then how he manages : For although he knew but little of *Christianity*, yet he was exquisitely well skilled in the strong and weak side of Philosophy. A modern Opponent would certainly have denied the *Major* ; but *that* was a Principle received by all Parties, as *Lactantius* himself gives us to understand, when he says, that the Principle of God's not being angry destroyed all Religion, by taking away a future State°. He had nothing left then but to deny the *Minor* : And this, he tells us, is the Subject of his Undertaking^p.

His Business then is to prove, that God hath human Passions : And though, by several Expressions dropped up and down, he seems to be fully sensible of the Grossness of his Conclusion ; yet, on the other hand, all Philosophy agreeing to make *this* the necessary Support of a future State, he sets upon his Task in good earnest, avoids all Refinements, and maintains that there are in God, as there are in Man, the Passions of *Love* and *Hatred*. These indeed are of two kinds in Man, *reasonable* and *unreasonable* ; in God, the first kind only is to be found. But to make all sure, and provide a proper Subject for these Passions, he contends strongly for God's *having a human Form* : No discreditable

° Qui sine ira Deum esse credentes, dissolvunt omnem Religionem — Sive igitur gratiam Deo, sive iram, sive utrumque detraxeris, religionem tolli necesse est.

^p Hæc [*nempe ut irascatur Deus*] tuenda nobis, & asserenda sententia est : In ea enim summa omnis, & cardo religionis pietatisque versatur.

Notion, at that time, in the Church; and which, if I might be indulged a Conjecture, I would suppose, was first introduced for that very purpose, to which *Lactantius* here enforces it.

But it is very observable, that our Author introduceth this monstrous Notion of *God's having a Human Form*, with an artful Attempt, supported by all his Eloquence, to discredit *Human Reason*; so as the Reader may be disposed to take his Word, that nothing could be known of God but by *Revelation*. This is an old Trick of the Disputers of all Times, to make Reprisals upon Reason; which when found too stubborn to yield, must be represented as too weak to judge. And when once we find an Author, who would be valued for his Logic, begin with depreciating Reason; we may be assured he has some very unreasonable Paradox to advance⁹.

What hath been said will, I suppose, not only justify the Consequence we draw from this universal Principle; namely, that it quite overturned the Doctrine of a future State of Rewards and Punishments; but will also impart considerable Light to a Treatise, in itself not very intelligible.

I. But it may be objected, perhaps, that this Principle, of *God's not being angry*, only concluded against a future State of *Punishments*, and not of *Rewards*: Many of the Philosophers holding the Affection of *Grace and Favour*; though they all denied that of *Anger*; as *Lactantius* expressly assures us: *Ita omnes philosophi de ira consentiunt, de gratia discrepant*. To this we reply,

⁹ So when the learned *Huetius* would pass upon his Readers a Number of slight chimerical Conjectures for *Demonstrations*, he introduces his Work by cavilling at the Certainty of the Principles of Geometry; with the Cunning of that famous Sign-painter in *Plutarch*, who having drawn what he called a Cock, drove away all real Cocks, lest they should discredit his Counterfeit.

1. That, when the Sanction of *Punishment* is taken off, the greatest Influence of a future State is destroyed. For while the Ancients made the Rewards of *Elysium* only temporary,

Has omnes, ubi mille rotam volvere per annos, &c.
they made the Punishments of *Tartarus* eternal.

Sedet, æternumque fedebit
Infelix Theseus.

This *Plato* teaches us in several Places of his Works^r. And *Celsus* is so far from rejecting it, that he ranks it in the Number of those Doctrines which should never be abandoned, but maintained to the very last^s.

It is true, that, several Passages of Antiquity may be objected to what we say against the *Eternity of Rewards*; as this of *Tully*: *Omnibus qui patriam conservarint, adjuverint, auxerint, certum esse in cælo ac definitum locum, ubi beati ævo sempiterno fruantur*^t. But we are to know, that the Ancients (as will be explained hereafter) distinguished the Souls of Men into three Species: the *human*, the *heroic*, and the *demonic*. The *two last*, when they left the Body, were, indeed, believed to enjoy eternal Happiness, for their public Services on Earth; not in *Elysium*, but in *Heaven*: Where they became a kind

^r Οἱ δ' αὖν δόξωσιν ἀνιάτως ἔχειν, ἀλλὰ τὰ μεγέθη τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων, ἢ ἱεροσυλίας πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας, ἢ φόνους ἀδίκους καὶ ὠδυνώμενος πολλὰς ἐξερσασμῶν, ἢ ἄλλα ὅσα τυγχάνει ὄντα τοιαῦτα, τέτρες δὲ ἢ προσήκουσα μοῖρα εἴπῃ εἰς τὴν Τάραντον, ὅθεν ἔπολε ἐκβαίνουσιν. *Phædo*, p. 113. — Ἄλλοι δὲ ὀνύανται οἱ τέτρες ὀργῶντες ἀλλὰ τὰς ἀμαρτίας τὰ μέγιστα καὶ ὀδυνηρότατα ὧν φοβερότατα πάθη πάχοντες τὴν αἰὲν χρόνον. *Gorgias*, p. 525.

^s Τέτο μὲν γε ὀρθῶς νομίζουσιν, ὡς οἱ μὲν δὲ βιώσαντες δαδαιμονήσουσιν, οἱ δὲ ἀδικοὶ πάνπαν αἰωνίοις κακοῖς συνέξουσιν καὶ τέτρες δὲ τὸ δόγμαλ' μήθ' εἶποι, μήτ' ἄλλ' ἀνθρώπων μηδεὶς πολεῖ ἀποσῆ, ἀποτείνοντες. *Apud Orig. cont. Cels. lib. viii.*

^t *Somn. Scip. cap. 3.*

of Demi-Gods. But all, of the *first*, which included the great Body of Mankind, were understood to have their Designation in *Purgatory*, *Tartarus*, or *Elysium*: The *first* and *last* of which Abodes were *temporary*; and the *second* only *eternal*. Now those who had greatly served their Country, in the manner *Tully* there mentions, were supposed to have Souls of the *heroic* or *demonic* Kind^v.

2. But *secondly*, in every Sense of a future State, as a moral Designation, Rewards and Punishments necessarily imply each other: So that where one is wanting, the other cannot possibly subsist. This is too evident to need a Proof; or not to be seen by the ancient Philosophers: As appears from *Laëtantius*, who in this Treatise takes it as a Thing granted, on all Hands, that the denying God's Attribute of *Anger*, which removes the Punishments of a future State, overturns the *State* itself. *Sive igitur gratiam Deo, sive iram, sive utrumque detraxeris, religionem tolli necesse est.*

3. But *lastly*, we shall shew (under the next Head, to which we are going) that the Philosophers, who allowed the Attribute of *Grace and Favour*, meant it not as a *Passion or Affection*; in which Sense they understood that *Anger*, which they allowed not.

II. As the foregoing Objection would insinuate that the universal Principle, of *God's not being angry*, does not prove *enough*; so the next pretends that it proves *too much*: For, *secondly*, it may be objected, that this Principle destroys God's Providence *here*, as well as a future State of Rewards and Punishments

^v *Eusebius* speaking of the political Gods of *Egypt*, justifies what is here delivered of those Heroic or Demonic Souls, ἄλλως ὃ ἐκ τῶτων ἐπιγείας ψυχὰς φασίν, ὑπάρξαντας μὲν θνητῶν, διὰ τὴν σωΐσιν καὶ κοινὴν ἀνθρώπων εὐεξέσσαν τελευχότας τῇ ΑΘΑΝΑΣΙΑΣ.—*Præp. Evang.* l. iii. c. 3.

hereafter,

hereafter, which Providence several of the Theistical Philosophers, we know, did believe.

To this we reply as follows:

Lactantius says: “All the Philosophers agree
“about the *Anger*, but concerning the *Grace* or
“*Favour* they are of different Opinions^w.”
And taking it for granted, that they considered
the *Grace* or *Favour*, which they held, as well
as the *Anger*, which they denied, to be a *Passion*
or *Affection*, he thus argues, with the utmost
Force, against them: “If God be not provoked
“at impious and wicked Men, neither is he
“pleased with the Good and Just. Therefore the
“Error of those who take away both *Grace* and
“*Anger* is the most consistent. For contrary Ob-
“jects must either excite contrary Affections, or no
“Affections at all. So that he who loves good
“Men must at the same Time hate Ill; and he
“who hates not ill Men cannot love the Good:
“Because both to love good Men proceedeth from
“an Abhorrence of Ill; and to hate ill Men from
“a Tendernefs to the Good^x.” But methinks, the
Absurdity of the Error here combated, should
have taught *Lactantius*, that the Philosophers, who
had rejected *Anger* because it was an human Pas-
sion, could never give their God another human
Passion: For though they sometimes *dogmatized* like
Lunatics, they never *reasoned* like *Idiots*; though
their *Principles* were often wrong, their *Conclusions*
from thence were always right. He should there-

^w Omnes philosophi de *ira* consentiunt, de *gratia* discrepant.

^x Si Deus non irascitur impiis & injustis, nec pios utique jus-
tosque diligit: Ergo constantior est error illorum, qui & iram si-
mul, & gratiam tollunt: In rebus enim diversis, aut in utramque
partem moveri necesse est, aut in neutram. Itaque qui bonos
diligit, & malos odit; & qui malos non odit, nec bonos diligit:
Quia & diligere bonos, ex odio malorum venit; & malos o-
disse, ex bonorum caritate descendit.

fore have seen, that those, who held the *Gratia* or Benevolence of the divine Nature, considered it not as a *Passion or Affection*, but as an *Efflux from its Essence*; on which they built their Notion of a general Providence. So that when he says *concerning the Grace or Favour, they are of different Opinions*, we are to understand no more, than that some of them held a Providence, while others denied it.

Let us see then what kind of Providence the Theistical Philosophers believed. The *Peripatetics* and *Stoics* went pretty much together in this Matter. It is commonly imputed to *Aristotle*, that he held no Providence to be extended lower than the Moon: But this is a Calumny that *Chalcidias* raised of him. What *Aristotle* meant by the Words, which gave a Handle to it, was *that a particular Providence did not extend itself to Individuals*: For being a Fatalist in natural Things, and at the same Time maintaining Free-Will in Man, he thought, if Providence were to be extended to Individuals, it would either impose a Necessity on human Actions, or, being employed on mere Contingencies, might have its Designs frequently frustrated; which would imply Impotency: And not seeing any Way to reconcile Free-Will and Prescience, he cut the Knot by denying that Providence extended to Individuals. *Zeno* held the same kind of Providence, *that the human Species was the Care of Heaven, but in such a Sense as the celestial Orbs are*; and, more consistently with himself, denied Free-Will in Man: Which was the only Difference between him and *Aristotle*.

Here then is a Providence very consistent with a Disbelief of a future State of Rewards and Punishments; nay, almost destructive of it.

But now the *Pythagoreans* and *Platonists* will not be put off so: They held a particular Providence, extending itself to Individuals: A Providence, which
according

according to ancient Notions, could not possibly be administered without the *Affections of Love and Anger*. Here then lies the Difficulty: These Sects removed all Passions from the Godhead, especially *Anger*, and, on that Account, rejected a future State of Rewards and Punishments; while yet they believed a Providence, which was administered by the Exercise of those very Passions. For the true Solution of this Difficulty, we must have recourse to a prevailing Principle of Paganism, often before hinted at for the clearing up many Obscurities in Antiquity. I mean that of *Local Tutelary Deities*. *Pythagoras* and *Plato* were great Espousers and Propagators of the Doctrine which taught, that the several Regions of the Earth were delivered over by the Creator of the Universe to the Vicegerency and Government of inferior Gods. This Opinion was originally *Egyptian*; on whose Authority these two Philosophers received it; though it had been long the popular Belief all over the Pagan World. Hence, we see the Writings of the *Pythagoreans* and *Platonists* so full of the *Doctrine of Demons*: Which Doctrine even characterized the Theology of those Sects. Now these *Demons* were ever supposed to have *Passions and Affections*, by which alone, as we said, the Ancients understood a particular Providence could be administered. And here it is worthy our Observation, that *Chalcidias* gives *this* as the very Reason why the *Peripatetics* rejected a particular Providence, (he says indeed, though falsely, all Providence below the Moon) namely, because they held nothing of the Administration of inferior Deities. His Words are these: “ *Aristotle* “ holds that the Providence of God descends e- “ ven to the Region of the Moon; but that, below “ that, Things were neither governed by the De- “ crees of God nor upheld by the Wisdom and Aid “ of

“ of Angels. Nor does he suppose any providential Intervention of *Demons*.” So closely conjoined in the Opinion of this Writer, whom *Fabrius* calls *gnarissimus veteris Philosophiæ*^z, was the Doctrine of a particular Providence, and that of *Demons* and subaltern Deities.

But when now the Soul is disengaged from the Body, it is no longer, in their Opinion, under the Government of *Demons*, nor consequently subject to the Effects of the *Demonic* Passions. And what becomes of it then, we shall see hereafter. A very remarkable Passage in *Apuleius*, will fully explain and justify the Solution here given: “ God (*saitb this Author*) “ cannot undergo any temporary Exercise of his Power or Goodness: And therefore “ cannot be affected with Indignation or Anger; “ cannot be depressed with Grief, or elated with Joy. “ But, being free from all the Passions of the Mind, “ he neither sorrows nor exults; nor makes any *instantaneous* Resolution to act, or to forbear acting. “ Every thing of this kind suits only the middle “ Nature of the *Demons*: For they are placed between Gods and Men, as well in the Frame and “ Composition of their Minds, as in the Situation “ of their Abodes, having Immortality in common “ with the former, and *Affections* in common with “ the latter. For they are subject, like us, to be “ every way irritated and appeased; so as to be inflamed by Anger, melted by Compassion, allured by Gifts, softened by Prayers, exasperated by “ Neglect, and soothed again by Observance. In “ a word, to be affected by every thing that can

^y Aristoteles Dei providentiam usque ad Lunæ regionem progredi censet; infra vero neque providentiæ scitis regi, nec angelorum ope consultisque sustentari: Nec vero Dæmonum prospicientiam putat intervenire. *Com. in Platonis Timæum.*

^z *Bib. Lat.* l. iii. c. 7.

“make Impression on the human Mind^a.” *Plutarch* sayeth the same thing, but with this remarkable Addition, that it was the very Doctrine of PLATO and PYTHAGORAS^b.

On the whole then it appears, that the Principle of *God's not being angry*, which subverted the Doctrine of a future State of Rewards and Punishments, did not at all affect a particular Providence here; and that the *Grace or Favour* which some of them left unto the Deity was no Passion or Affection, like the *Anger*, which they took away; but only a *simple Benevolence*, which, in the Construction of the Universe, was directed to the best, but did not interfere to prevent Disorders in particular Systems. A Benevolence too, that went not from the *Will*, but the *Essence* of the Supreme Being^c.

^a — Debet Deus nullam perpeti vel operis vel amoris temporalem perfunctionem; & idcirco nec indignatione nec ira contingi, nullo angore contrahi, nullâ alacritate gestire: sed ab omnibus passionibus animi liber, nec dolere unquam, nec aliquando lætari, nec aliquid repentinum velle vel nolle. Sed & hæc cuncta, ut id genus cætera, Dæmonum mediocritati congruunt. Sunt enim inter homines & deos, ut loco regionis, ita ingenio mentis interfiti, habentes communem cum superis immortalitatem, cum inferis passionem. Nam perinde ut nos, pati possunt omnia animorum placamenta vel incitamenta; ut & irâ incitentur, & misericordia flectantur, & donis invitentur, & precibus leniantur, & contumeliis exasperentur, & honoribus mulceantur, aliisque omnibus, ad similem nobis modum varientur. *De Deo Socratis*.

^b Βέλιον ἔν οἱ τὰ παρὰ τὴν Τυφῶνα καὶ Ὅσιον καὶ Ἰσὺν ἰσορέμματα, μήτε θεῶν παθήματα, μήτε ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλὰ ΔΑΙΜΟΝΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΩΝ ἢ νομίζοντες, ὡς καὶ ΠΛΑΤΩΝ καὶ ΠΥΘΑΓΟΡΑΣ, καὶ Ξενοκράτης, καὶ Χρύσιππος, ἐπόμῃ τοις ΠΑΛΑΙΟΘΕΟΛΟΓΟΥΣ ἐρῶμεντες ἢ ἀνθρώπων γεγονέναι λέγουσι, καὶ πολλῇ τῇ δυνάμει τὴν φύσιν ὑπερφέρουσας ἢ αὐτῶν, τὸ δὲ θεῶν ὅτι ἀμιγῆς, εἰδὲ ἀκράτου ἔχουσας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ψυχῆς φύσει καὶ σώματι αἰσθάνεται ἐν σιωπῇ, ἡδονὴν δεχομένη καὶ πόνον καὶ ὅσα αὐταῖς ἐξ ἡρώδους ταῖς μελαβόλαις πάθη, τὰς δὲ μάλλον, τὰς δὲ ἥττον ἐπιλαργίται γίνονται ὥς ἐν ἀνθρώποις, καὶ δαίμοσιν, ἀρετῆς διαφορὰ καὶ κακίας. *De Is. 3^o Of. p. 642.*

^c So *Seneca* informs us: Quæ causa est Diis bene faciendi?

II. We

II. We proceed now to the OTHER CAUSE, which kept the Philosophers from believing a future State of Rewards and Punishments: As the first was a mistaken Notion concerning *the Nature of God*, so this was *one* concerning *the Nature of the Soul*. For, as our Epic Poet says,

“ Much of the SOUL they talk, but all awry ^d. ”

There are but two possible ways of conceiving of the *Soul*; either as a *Quality*, or a *Substance*.

1. Those Ancients who held it to be only a *Quality*, as *Epicurus*, *Dicæarchus*, *Aristoxenus*, *Asclepiades*, and *Galen*, come not into the Account; it being impossible that these should not believe its total Annihilation upon Death.

2. But the Generality of the Philosophers held it to be a *Substance*; and all who so held, were unanimous that it was a DISCERPED PART OF A WHOLE; and that this *Whole* was GOD; into whom it was again to be *resolved*.

But concerning this *Whole* they differed.

SOME held that there was only *one* Substance in Nature; some held *two*.

They who maintained the *one* universal Substance, or TO^uEN, in the strictest Sense, were ATHEISTS; and altogether in the Sentiments of the modern *Spinozists*, whose Master apparently caught this epidemical Contagion of human Reason from Antiquity.

The OTHERS, who believed there were *two* general *Substances* in Nature, *God* and *Matter*, were taught to conclude, by their way of interpreting the famous Maxim of *ex nihilo nihil fit*, that they were

NATURA. Errat, si quis putat illos nocere velle: Non possunt. Nec accipere injuriam queunt, nec facere; lædere etenim lædique conjunctum est. Summa illa ac pulcherrima omnium natura, quos periculo exemit, nec periculosos quidem fecit. *Ep.* 95.

^d *Par. Reg.* Book IV. § 313.

both eternal. These were their THEISTS; though approaching more or less, according to their several Subdivisions, to what we now call *Spinozism*.

These *latter*, who held *two* Substances, were again subdivided.

Some of them, as the *Cyrenaics*, the *Cynics*, and the *Stoics*, held *both* these Substances to be material: Others, as the *Pythagoreans*, the *Platonists*, and *Peripatetics*, only *one*: The *former* approaching to the gross Opinions of the atheistical Philosophers, who held but one universal Substance.

Again, the Maintainers of the *Immateriality* of the Divine Substance, were likewise divided into two Parties; the first of which held but *one* Person in the Godhead; the other *two* or *three*. So that as the *former* believed the Soul to be Part of the Supreme God; the *latter* believed it to be Part only of the second or third *Hypostasis*.

As they multiplied the Persons of the Godhead, so they did the Subsistence of the Soul; some giving *two*, and some more liberally, *three* to every Man. But it is to be observed, that they esteemed only *one* of them to be Part of God; the others were only elementary Matter, or mere Qualities.

These things are but just hinted at, which is sufficient to our Purpose: A full Explanation of them, tho' both curious and useful, would take up too much room, and lead us too far from our Subject.

Now, however they, who held the Soul a real Substance, differed thus in Circumstantials, yet in this Consequence of its Substantiality, *that it was Part of God, discerped from him, and would be resolved again into him*, they all, we say, agreed. For those who held but *one* Substance, must needs esteem the Soul a Part of it; and those who held *two*, considered them as conjoined and composing an *Universe*; just as the Soul and Body composed a *Man*:
Of

Of which Universe God was the Soul, and Matter the Body. Hence they concluded, that as the human Body was resolved into its Parent Matter, so the Soul was resolved into its Parent Spirit.

Agreeably to what we have said, *Cicero* delivers the common Sentiments of his *Greek* Masters on this Head: *A natura* Deorum, *ut doctissimis sapientissimisque placuit*, haustos animos & libatos habemus^e. And again: *Humanus autem animus* decerptus ex mente divina, *cum alio nullo nisi cum ipso Deo comparari potest*^f.

And that the Reader may not suspect these kind of Phrases, as, that the *Soul is part of God*; *discerped from him*; *of his Nature*; which perpetually occur in the Writings of the Ancients, to be only *highly figurative Expressions*, and not to be measured by the severe Standard of metaphysical Propriety; he is desired to take Notice of one Consequence drawn from this Principle, and universally held by Antiquity, which was this, *that the Soul was eternal à parte ante*, as well as *à parte post*; which the *Latins* well expressed by the Word **SEMPITERNUS**^g.

For this we shall produce an Authority above

^e *De Divin.* l. i. c. 49. ^f *Tusc. Disp.* l. v. c. 13.

^g It properly signifies, *what hath neither Beginning nor End*; though frequently used in the improper Sense of *having no End*. And indeed, we may observe in most of the *Latin* Writers, an unphilosophic Licence in the use of one *mixed Mode* for another; which are the only kind of Words that can well be liable to this Abuse. The providing against the ill Effects of this Licence gave the ancient *Roman* Lawyers great Pains; as appears from this Testimony of one of them: *Jurisconsultorum summus circa verborum proprietatem labor est*. The Abuse proceeded, in a good measure, from the *Romans* not being broken and inured to Speculation and abstract Reasoning: For it is certain, that the *Greeks*, who were eminently practised in this way, are infinitely more exact in their use of such Words; not but something must be allowed for the superior Copiousness of that Language.

Exception: "It is a thing very well known (says the great *Cudworth*) that, according to the Sense of Philosophers, these two Things were always included together, in that one Opinion of the Soul's Immortality, namely, its *Pre-existence*, as well as its *Post-existence*. Neither was there ever any of the Ancients, before *Christianity*, that held the Soul's future Permanency after Death, who did not likewise assert its *Pre-existence*; they *clearly perceiving* that if it was once granted, that the Soul was generated, it could never be proved but that it might be also corrupted: And therefore the Assertors of the Soul's Immortality commonly began here; first to prove its *Pre-existence*, &c.^h" What this learned Man is quoted for, is the *Fact*: And for that we may safely take his Word: As to the *Reason* he gives, that we see is visionary; invented, perhaps, to hide the Enormity of the Principle it came from. The true *Reason* was its being a natural Consequence of the Opinion, that *the Soul was Part of God*. And this *Tully* plainly intimates in these Words: *Animorum nulla in terris origo inveniri potest:—His enim in naturis nihil inest, quod vim memoriæ, mentis, cogitationis habeat; quod & præterita teneat, & futura provideat, & complecti possit præsentia; quæ sola divina sunt. Nec invenietur unquam, unde ad hominem venire possint, nisi a Deo.—Ita quidquid est illud, quod sentit, quod sapit, quod vult, quod viget, celeste & divinum est; OB EAMQUE REM ÆTERNUM SIT NECESSE EST*ⁱ.

Here then is a Consequence universally acknowledged, that will not allow the Principle from whence it proceeded, to be understood in any other than a strict metaphysical Sense. Let us consider

^h *Intel. System*, p. 38.

ⁱ *Fragm. de Consolatione*.

it a little. We are told they held the Soul *eternal*: If eternal, it must be either independent on God, or Part of his Substance. Independent it could not be, for there can be but one Independent of the same kind of Substance: The Ancients, indeed, thought it no Absurdity to say, that God and Matter were both Self-existent, but they allowed no third; therefore they must needs conclude that *it was Part of God*.

But when the Ancients are said to hold the *Pre- and Post-existence* of the Soul, and therefore to attribute a proper Eternity to it, we must not suppose, that they understood it to be eternal in its *distinct and peculiar Existence*; but that it was discerped from the Substance of God, *in time*; and would, *in time*, be re-joined, and re-solved into it again. This they explained by a Bottle filled with Sea-Water, which swimming awhile upon the Ocean, did, on the Bottle's breaking, flow in again, and mingle with the common Mass. They only differed about the Time of this *Re-union* and *Re-solution*: The greater Part holding it to be at Death, but the *Pythagoreans* not till after many Transmigrations. The *Platonists* went between these two Opinions; and re-joined pure and unpolluted Souls, immediately to the universal Spirit. But those which had contracted much Defilement, were sent into a Succession of other Bodies, to purge and purify them, before they returned to their Parent Substance^k. And these were the two Sorts of the *natural Metempsychosis*, which we have observed

^k Nec enim omnibus iidem illi sapientes arbitrati sunt eundem cursum in cœlum patere. Nam vitiis & sceleribus contaminatos deprimi in tenebras, atque in cœno jacere docuerunt: castos autem, puros, integros, incorruptos, bonis etiam studiis atque artibus expolitos, levi quodam ac facili lapsu ad Deos, id est, ad naturam sui similem pervolare. *Fragm. de Consolatione.*

above, to have been really held by those two Schools of Philosophy.

That we have given a fair Representation of the ancient Belief in this Matter, we appeal to the learned *Gassendi*: *Interim tamen vix ulli fuere (quæ humanæ mentis caligo, atque imbecillitas est) qui non inciderint in errorem illum de REFUSIONE IN ANIMAM MUNDI. Nimirum, sicut existimârunt singulorum animas particulas esse Animæ Mundanæ, quarum quælibet suo corpore, ut aqua vase, includeretur; ita & reputârunt unamquamque animam, corpore dissoluto, quasi diffractò vase, effluere, ac animæ Mundi, è qua deducta fuerit, iterum uniri; nisi quod plerumque ob contractas in impuro corpore sordeis, vitiorumque maculas, non prius uniantur, quàm sensim omneis sordeis exuerint, & aliæ seriùs, aliæ ocyùs repurgatæ, atque immunes ab omni labe evaserint*¹. A great Authority; and the greater, for that it proceeded from the plain View of the Fact only; *Gassendi* appearing not to have been sensible of the Consequence here deduced from it, namely, *that none of the ancient Philosophers could believe a future State of Rewards and Punishments*. Otherwise, we may be sure, he had not failed to urge that Consequence, in Apology for *Epicurus*; whose monstrous Errors he has laboured to keep in Countenance, throughout three large Volumes, by confronting them with as monstrous, amongst the other Sects of Philosophy.

Thus we see, that this very Opinion of the *Soul's Eternity*, which hath made modern Writers conclude, that the Philosophers believed a future State of Reward and Punishment, was in Truth the very Reason why they believed it not.

The *primitive Christian* Writers were more quick-sighted: They plainly saw this Principle was de-

¹ *Animadv. in decimum librum Diogenis Laertii*, p. 550.

structive of such future State, and therefore opposed it with all their Power. Thus *Arnobius* (not indeed attending to the double Doctrine of the ancient Philosophy) accuses *Plato* of *Contradiction*, for holding this Principle, and yet, at the same Time, preaching up a future State of Reward and Punishment^m.

But it must be confessed, some of the *Fathers*, as was their Custom, ran into the opposite Extreme; and held the Soul to be naturally *mortal*; and to support this, maintained its *Materiality*: Just as in the Case before, to support *human Passions* in the Godhead, they taught he had a *human Form*. *Tatian*, *Tertullian*, and *Arnobius* fell into this Extravagance. Others indeed, as *Justin Martyr*, and *Irenæus*, went more soberly to work; affirming only, against the Notion of its *Eternity*, that it was *created* by God, and depended continually upon him for its Duration. In the Heat of Dispute, indeed, some unwary Words now and then drop from the soberest of them, that seem to favour the Doctrine of the Soul's Mortality: But it is but reasonable to correct them, by the *general Tenor* of their Sentiments.

^m Quid? *Plato* idem vester in eo volumine, quod de animæ immortalitate composuit, non Acherontem, non Stygem, non Cocytum fluvios, & Pyriphlegetontem nominat, in quibus animas asseverat volvi, mergi, exuri? Et homo prudentiæ non praviæ, & examinis judicii que perpensi, rem inenodabilem suscipit, ut cum animas dicat immortales, perpetuas, & corporali soliditate privatas; puniri eas dicat tamen, & doloris afficiat sensu. Quis autem hominum non vidit, quod sit immortale, quod simplex, nullum posse dolorem admittere; quod autem sentiat dolorem, immortalitatem habere non posse? Et qui poterit territari formidinis alicujus horrore, cui fuerit persuasum, tam se esse immortalem quam ipsum Deum primum; nec ab eo judicari quidquam de se posse, cum sit una immortalitas in utroque, nec in alterius altera conditionis possit æqualitate vexari? *Adver. Gentes*, l. ii. p. 52—64. Ed. Lug. Bat. 1651. Quarto.

This was the true Original of every thing that looks that Way, in the Writings of the *Fathers*. Had Mr. *Dodwell* but considered this, it had led him to their true Meaning, and he had never wrote so weak a Book as his *Epistolary Discourse* against the Soul's Immortality from the *Judgment of the Fathers*; whose Opinions he hath egregiously mistaken.

Having now shewn that the Philosophers in general, held *the Soul's being part of God, and resolvable into him*; that no kind of Doubt may remain, we shall prove in the next Place, that it was believed particularly by the famous *philosophic Quaternion*.

Cicero, in the Person of *Velleius*, the *Epicurean*, accuses *PYTHAGORAS*, for holding that the human Soul was discerped from the Substance of God, or the Universal Nature. *Nam Pythagoras, qui censuit Animum esse per naturam rerum omnem intentum & commeantem, ex quo nostri animi carperentur, non vidit distractione humanorum animorum discerpi & lacerari Deumⁿ*. To the same Purpose, *Sextus Empiricus*: — *Pythagoras and Empedocles, and the whole Company of the Italic School, hold that our Souls are not only of the same Nature with one another, and with the Gods, but likewise with the irrational Souls of Brutes: For that there is one Spirit that pervades the Universe, and serves it for a Soul, which unites us and them together^o*. Lastly, *Laertius* tells us, that *Pythagoras* held that the Soul was different from the Life; and was immortal; for that the Substance,

ⁿ *Nat. Deor. l. i. c. ii.*

^o Οἱ μὲν δὲ περὶ τὸ Πυθαγόραν καὶ τὸ Ἐμπεδοκλέα, καὶ τοὺς Ἰταλῶν φιλοσόφους, φασὶ μὴ μόνον ἡμῖν πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ πρὸς τὰς θεὰς εἶναι τινὰ κοινωνίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἄλογα τῶν ζώων· ἐν γὰρ ὑπάρχειν πανεῦμα, τὸ διὰ παντὸς & κόσμου διήκον ψυχῆς τρέπον, τὸ καὶ ἐνδὲν ἡμῶν πρὸς εἶναι. lib. ix. *Adv. Physic.* § 127.

from

from which it was discerped, was immortal^p.

PLATO, without any Detour, frequently calls the Soul, God; and Part of God, ΝΟΥΝ ΑΕΙ ΘΕΟΝ. *Plutarch* says, *Pythagoras and Plato held the Soul to be immortal: For that launching out into the Soul of the Universe, it returns to its Parent and Original*^q. *Arnobius* charges the same Opinion on the *Platonists*, where he apostrophises them, in this Manner: *Ipse denique animus, qui immortalis à vobis & Deus esse narratur, cur in ægris æger sit, in infantibus stolidus, in senectute defessus? Delira, & fatua, & insana*^r!

There is indeed a Passage in *Stobæus*, that hath been understood by some, to contradict what we have here delivered as the Sentiments of *Plato*. It is where *Speusippus*, the Nephew and Follower of *Plato*, says, that the MIND was neither the same with THE ONE, nor THE GOOD; but had a peculiar Nature of its own^s. Our *Stanley* supposes^t him to speak here of the human Mind: And then indeed, nothing can more directly contradict what we have affirmed of *Plato* above. But that learned Man seems to have been mistaken, and misled by his

^p Διαφέρειν τε ψυχὴν, ζωῆς· ἀθάνατόν τε ἢ αὐτήν, ἐπειδήπερ καὶ τὸ ἀφ' ἧς ἀπέσπασται, ἀθάνατόν ἐστι. *Vit. Phil.* l. viii. § 28.

^q Πυθαγόρας, Πλάτων, Ἀφθαρίων ἢ τὴν ψυχὴν· ἐξίδσαν γὰρ εἰς τὴν παντὸς ψυχὴν, ἀναχωρεῖν πρὸς τὸ ὁμοῦλον. *De Plac. Phil.* l. iv. c. 7.

^r *Adv. Gentes*, l. ii. p. 47. The latter Part of the Sentence is commonly read thus: — *Cur in ægris æger sit, in infantibus stolidus, in senectute defessus, delira, & fatua, & insana?* The Critics think something is here wanting before the three last Words. But it appears to me only to have been wrong pointed; there should be a Note of Interrogation instead of a Comma at *defessus* — *Delira, & fatua, & insana*, making a Sentence of itself, by means of *narratis* understood.

^s Σπείσιππος τὸ νῦν ἔτε τὰ ἐνὶ, ἔτε τὰ ἀγαθὰ τὴν αὐτὴν, ἰδιοφυῆ δέ. *Eccl. Phys.* l. i. c. 1.

^t *Hist. of Phil.* Part 5. Art. SPEUSIPPUS c. 2.

Author *Stobæus*; who has put this *Placit* in a Chapter with several others, which relate to the human Mind: Whereas I conceive it evident, that *Speusippus* was here speaking of a thing very different from what that Collector imagined; namely, of the Nature of the third Hypostasis in the *Platonic* Trinity; the ΝΟΥΣ, or λόγος, so intituled by his Uncle; which he would, by the Words in Question, personally distinguish from the ΤΟ ἄΕΝ, the ONE, the first Person, and from the ΤΑΓΑΘΟΝ, the GOOD, the *second* in that Trinity. This Interpretation, which seems to clear up a very unintelligible Passage, is submitted to the Judgment of the Learned.

ARISTOTLE thought of the Soul like the rest, as we learn from a Passage quoted by *Cudworth*^v, out of his *Nichomachean Ethics*; where having spoken of the sensitive Souls, and declared them mortal, he goes on in this manner: *It remains that the Mind or Intellect, and that alone (pre-existing) enter from without, and be only DIVINE*^w.

But then he distinguishes again concerning this *Mind* or *Intellect*, and makes it two-fold; *Agent* and *Patient*: The former of which, he concludes to be *immortal*, and the latter *corruptible*. *The agent Intellect is only immortal and eternal, but the passive is corruptible*^x. *Cudworth* thinks this a very doubtful and obscure Passage; and imagines *Aristotle* was led to write thus unintelligibly, by his Doctrine of *Forms* and *Qualities*; which confounds corporeal, with incorporeal Substances: But had that great Man reflected on the general Doctrine of the ΤΟ ἄΕΝ, he would have seen the Passage to

^v *Intell. System*, p. 55.

^w Λείπεται ὃ τὸ νῦν μόνον δύραθεν ἐπεισιέναι, καὶ θεῖον εἶναι μόνον.

^x Τὸ το μόνον ἀθάνατον καὶ αἰδίων, ὃ δὲ παθητικὸς νῦν φθαρτός.

be plain and easy; and that *Aristotle*, from the common Principle of the human Soul's being Part of the divine Substance, here draws a Conclusion against a future State of separate Existence; which, though it now appears all the Philosophers embraced, yet all were not (as we said) so forward to avow. The obvious Meaning of the Words then is this: *The agent Intelligent* (says he) *is only immortal and eternal, but the passive corruptible, i. e.* The particular Sensations of the Soul (*the passive Intelligent*) will cease after Death; and the Substance of it (*the agent Intelligent*) will be resolved into the Soul of the Universe. For it was *Aristotle's* Opinion, who compared the Soul to a *rasa tabula*, that human Sensations and Reflections were Passions: These therefore are what he finely calls the *passive Intelligent*; which, he says, shall cease, or is corruptible. What he meant by the *agent Intelligent*, we learn from his Commentators; who interpret it to signify, as *Cudworth* here acknowledges, the DIVINE INTELLECT; which Glos *Aristotle* himself fully justifies, in calling it ΘΕΙΟΝ, *Divine*. But what needs many Words? the Learned very well know that the *Intellectus agens* of *Aristotle* was the very same with the *Anima Mundi* of *Plato* and *Pythagoras*.

Thus, this seeming extravagant Division of the human Mind into *Agent* and *Patient*, appears very plain and accurate: But the not having this common Key to the ancient Metaphysics, hath kept the Followers of *Aristotle* long at Variance amongst themselves, whether their Master did believe the Soul mortal or immortal. The anonymous Writer of the Life of *Pythagoras*, extracted by *Photius*, says, *that Plato and Aristotle, with one Consent, agree that the Soul is immortal: Though some, not fathoming the profound Mind of Aristotle, suppose that*

be held the Soul to be mortal^y; that is, mistaking the *passive Intelligent* (by which *Aristotle* meant the present partial Sensations) for the Soul itself, or the *agent Intelligent*: Nay, this way of talking of the *passive Intelligent*, made some, as *Nemesius*, even imagine that he held the Soul to be only a *Quality*^z.

As to the *Stoics*, let *Seneca* speak first for them. *And why should you not believe something divine to be in him, who is indeed PART OF THE GOD-HEAD? That WHOLE, in which we are contained, is ONE, and that one is GOD; we being his Companions and Members*^a.

Epicetus says, the Souls of Men have the nearest Relation to God, as being Parts, or Fragments of him, discerped and torn from his Substance^b.

Lastly, *Marcus Antoninus*, as a Consolation against the Fear of Death, says To die is not only according to the Course of Nature, but of great Use to it. We should consider how closely Man is united to the Godhead, and in what Part of him that Union resides;

^y ὅτι Πλάτων, φησὶ, καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης, ἀθάνατον ὁμοίως λέγουσι τὴν ψυχὴν· καὶν τινες εἰς τὴν Ἀριστοτέλους νῦν ὅτι ἐμβαθύνοντες, διηκτικῶς νομίζουσιν αὐτὸν λέγειν. Phot. Bibl. Cod. 259.

^z Οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι τὴν ψυχὴν εἶναι λέγουσιν ὁσίαν, Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ καὶ Δείναρχος ἀνέσσιον. De Nat. Hom.

^a Quid est autem, cur non existimes in eo divini aliquid existere qui Dei pars est? Totum hoc, quo continemur, & unum est, & Deus: & socii ejus fumus, & membra. Ep. 92.

^b Συναφείς τῷ Θεῷ, ὅτε αὐτῷ μέγιστα ἔσαι καὶ ἀποσπάσματα. This Passage amongst others, equally strong, is quoted by the learned Dr. Moor, in his *Immortality of the Soul*, Book III. Chap. 16. And one cannot but smile at the good Doctor's Reflection on a general Principle, that he did not like. *These Expressions*, says he, *make the Soul of Man a Ray or Beam of the Soul of the World, or of God. But we are to take notice, THEY ARE BUT METAPHORICAL PHRASES.* And so the Socinian, to Texts of Scripture equally strong for the *Doctrine of the Redemption*, replies, *you are to take notice, they are but metaphorical Phrases.*

and

and what will be the Condition of that Part or Portion when it is re-solved into the anima mundi^c.

After all this, one cannot sufficiently admire how the great Cudworth came to say: *All those Pagan Philosophers who asserted the Incorporeity of Souls, must of Necessity, in like Manner, suppose them not to have been made out of pre-existing Matter, but by God, out of nothing.* Plutarch being only here to be excepted, by Reason of a certain odd Hypothesis which he had, that was peculiarly his own, of a third Principle besides God and Matter, an evil Demon, self-existent; who therefore seems to have supposed all particular human Souls to have been made neither out of nothing, nor yet out of Matter or Body pre-existing, but out of a certain strange Commixture of the Substance of the evil Soul, and God blended together; upon which Account does he affirm Souls to be not so much ἐξόν, as μέρος Θεῷ, not so much the Work of God, as Part of him^d.

1. He thinks those Philosophers, who held the Incorporeity of the Soul must of Necessity believe it to be made by God out of nothing. Why? Because they could not suppose it to be made out of pre-

^c Τῷτο μὲν τοι εἰ μόνον φύσεως ἔργον ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ καὶ συμφέρον αὐτῇ· πῶς ἄπλεον Θεῷ ἀνθρώπου, καὶ κατὰ τί αὐτῷ μέρος καὶ πῶς ἔχη ὅταν διακένῃαι τὸ εἰς ἀνθρώπου τῷτο μέροςον. Εἰς ἑαυτὸν, L. ii.

c. 12. Here the Doctrine of the τὸ εἶν is hinted at, but writing to Adepts, he is a little obscure. The Editors have made a very confused Comment and Translation: The common Reading of the latter Part of the Passage is, Καὶ ὅταν πῶς ἔχη διακένῃαι τὸ εἰς ἀνθρώπου τῷτο μέροςον· which is certainly corrupt. Gataker very accurately transposed the Words thus: Καὶ πῶς ἔχη ὅταν, and for διακένῃαι, read διικένῃαι. Mer. Casaubon, more happily, διακένῃαι. They have the true Reading between them: But not being aware that the Doctrine of the Refusion was here alluded to, they could not settle the Text with any Certainty. The last Word ΜΟΡΙΟΝ can signify nothing else but a discerped Particle from the Soul of the World. Epictetus uses it in that Sense above, and it seems to be the technical Term for it.

^d *Intell. System*, p. 741.

existing

existing Matter. But is there no other pre-existing Substance, out of which it might have been made? Yes, the *Divine*. And from thence, we see in Fact, the Philosophers supposed it to be taken. The great Author has therefore concluded too hastily.

2. He thinks *Plutarch* was *single*, in conceiving the Soul to be a *Part*, rather than a *Work* of God; and that he was led into this Error by the *Manichean* Principle: But how *that* should lead any one into it is utterly inconceivable. It is true indeed, that he who already believes the Soul to be μέρϙ, or μέρος θεῶ, a Part or Particle of the Divinity, if he holds *two Principles*, will naturally hold the Soul to have a Part from each. And so indeed did *Plutarch*; and in *this only*, differed from the rest of the Philosophers; who, as to the general Tenet of μέρϙ, and not ἔρϙον θεῶ, that the Soul was *rather a Part, than a Work of God*, went all of them along with him.

Such was the general Doctrine on this Point, before the coming of *Christianity*; but then those Philosophers, who held out against its Truth, after some Time, new modelled both their Philosophy and Religion, making their Philosophy more religious, and their Religion more philosophical: Of which we have given several occasional Instances in the Course of this Work. So amongst the many Improvements of Paganism, the softening this Doctrine was one; the modern *Platonists* confining the Notion of *the Soul's being Part of the divine Substance*, to *those* of Brutes. Every irrational Power (says *Porphyry*) is re-solved into the Life of the whole^e. And, it is remarkable, that then, and not till then, the Philosophers began *really* to believe the Doctrine of a future State of Rewards and Punishments.

^e Λύει ἑκάστη δυνάμις ΑΛΟΓΟΣ εἰς τὴν ὅλην ζῶντι παντός.

But

But the wiser of them had no sooner laid down the Doctrine of the τὸ ἐν, than the Heretics, as the *Gnostics*, *Manicheans* and *Priscillians*, took it up. These delivered it to the *Arabians*, from whom the Atheists of these Ages have received it.

This then being the general Notion of the Philosophers concerning the Nature of the Soul, there could not possibly be any room for their believing a future State of Rewards and Punishments: And how much the Ancients understood the Disbelief of this, to be the Consequence of holding the other, we have a remarkable Instance in *Strabo*. That excellent Writer speaking of the Religion of *Moses*, thus expresth himself: *For he [Moses] affirmed and taught that the Egyptians and Libyans conceived amiss, in representing the Divinity under the Form of Beasts and Cattle: nor were the Greeks less mistaken to picture him in a human Shape; for God was only ONE, which contains all Mankind, the Earth, and Sea, WHICH we call HEAVEN, THE WORLD AND THE NATURE OF ALL THINGS^f. This, as may be better seen by the Original below, is the rankest Spinozism: But how unjustly charged on the Jewish Legislator, we have his divine Writings to evidence; which they do so effectually, that, was any one, on set Purpose, to draw up an Idea of the Deity, in order to oppose it to that monstrous Opinion, he could not do it in stronger, or less ambiguous Terms. What then, you will say, could be the Reason of so ingenuous, so candid, so learned a Writer's giving this false Representation of an Author, whose Laws he certainly was no Stranger to?*

^f Ἐφη γὰρ ἐκείνῳ καὶ ἐδίδασκεν, ὡς εἶπε ὁρθῶς φερονῶσιν οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι θεοῖσι εἰκάζοντες, καὶ βοσκοῦνται τὸ θεῖον· οὐδ' οἱ Λίβυες· εἶπε δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἀνθρωπομορφας τυπῶντες· εἴη γὰρ ἐν τῷτο μόνον θεὸς τὸ πᾶν ἔχων ἡμᾶς ἀπαντίας, καὶ γῆν καὶ θάλατταν, ὃ καλεῖται ὅλον καὶ κόσμον καὶ τὰ ἐν ὅλοις φύσιν. *Geog. lib. xvi.*

The Solution of the Difficulty (which *Toland* has wrote a senseless Dissertation^g to aggravate and envenom) is this: *Strabo* well knew, that all who held the TO' 'EN, necessarily denied a future State of Reward and Punishment: And finding in the Laws of *Moses* so extraordinary a Case as the Omision of such future State in the national Religion, he concluded backwards, that the Reason could be no other than the Author's Belief of the TO' 'EN: For these two Ideas were inseparably connected in the Imagination of the *Greeks*.

But now though we have shewn the Notion to be so malignant, as, more or less, to have infected all the ancient *Greek* Philosophy; yet no one, I hope, will think there needs any thing to be said in Confutation of so absurd and unphilosophical a Tenet. Mr. *Bayle* thinks it even more irrational than the plastic Atoms of *Epicurus*: *The Atomic System is not, by a great deal, so absurd as Spinozism^h*: And judges it cannot stand against the Demonstrations of *Newton*: *In my Opinion the Spinozists would find themselves embarrassed to some purpose, if one obliged them to admit the Demonstrations of Mr. Newtonⁱ*. In this he judged right, and we have lately seen a Book, intituled, *An Enquiry into the Nature of the human Soul, &c.* so well reasoned on the Principles of that Philosophy, as totally to dispel the impious Phantasm of *Spinozism*. He who would see the justest and precisest Notions of *God* and the *Soul*, may read that Book; one of the most finished of the Kind, in my humble Opinion, that the pre-

^g See his *Origines Judaicæ*.

^h Le Systeme des Atomes n'est pas à beaucoup près aussi absurde que le Spinozisme. *Crit. Dict. Article DEMOCRITE*.

ⁱ Je croi que les Spinozistes se trouveroient bien embarrassés, si on les forçoit d'admettre les Demonstrations de Mr. *Newton*. *Ibid. Ar. LEUCIPPE. Rem. (G) à la fin.*

sent Times, greatly advanced in true Philosophy, have produced.

But it will be asked from whence the *Greeks* had this strange Opinion; for we know they were not ΑΥΤΟΔΙΔΑΚΤΟΙ. It will be said, perhaps, from *Egypt*; from whence they had their Learning; and the Books which go under the Name of TRISMEGISTUS, and pretend to contain a Body of the ancient *Egyptian* Wisdom, being very full and explicit in favour of the ΤΟ' ἘΝ, have very much confirmed this Opinion. And though the Imposture of those Works hath been thoroughly exposed^k; yet on Pretence that the Writers took the Substance of them from the ancient *Egyptian* Physiology, they preserve, I don't know how, a certain Authority amongst the Learned, by no means due to them.

However, I shall venture to maintain, that the *Notion* was purely *Grecian*.

1. For first, it is a refined, remote, imaginary Conclusion from true and simple Principles; which Character it so much manifests both in its Subtilty and Absurdity, that many have fallen into it unawares, and no sooner been charged with it, than they have detested and abhorred it^l. But the ancient *Barbaric* Philosophy, as we are informed by the *Greeks*, consisted only of detached Placits or Tenets, delivered down from Tradition; without any thing like Speculation in a System, or by *Hypothesis*^m. Now Refinement and Subtilty are the Consequence only of these Inventions.

^k *Is. Casaubon cont. Bar. Exerc. i. N° 18.*

^l See *Limborg's Theol. Christ. lib. ii. c. 15. & Pietas Burmannorum.*

^m Ἀλλ' εἰδὲ οἱ παλαιῶταί τε φιλοσόφων ἐπὶ τὸ ἀμφισβητεῖν καὶ ἀπερεῖν ἐφέροντο — οἱ μὲν γὰρ νεώτεροι τὴν παρ' Ἑλλήσι φιλοσόφων ὑπὸ φιλοτιμίας κενῆς τε καὶ ἀτελεῆς, ἐλεγκτικῶς ἅμα καὶ ἐριστικῶς, εἰς τὴν ἀχρηστον ἐξάγονται φλυαρίαν· ἔμπαλιν δὲ ἡ βάρβαρος φιλοσοφία, καὶ πᾶσαν ἔειν ἐκβάλλεσσα. — *Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 8. in prin.*

But of all the *Barbarians*, this Humour would of Course be least seen in the *Egyptians*; whose Sages were not sedentary scholastic *Sophists*, like the *Grecian*, but employed and busied in the public Affairs of Religion and Government. By Men of such Characters, we may be assured, even the most solid Sciences would be pushed no farther than the Uses of Life. And that, in fact they were not, we have a singular Instance in the Case of *Pythagoras*. *Jamblicus* tells us, that he spent two and twenty Years in Egypt, studying Astronomy and Geometryⁿ: And yet, after his return to *Samos*, he himself discovered the famous 47th Prop. of the 1st Book of *Euclid*; which so transported him, that, we are told, he sacrificed a Hecatomb to the Muses. This, though a very *useful*, is yet a very *simple* Theorem; and not being reached by the *Egyptian* Geometry, shews they had not advanced far in such Speculations. So again, in Astronomy; *Thales* is said to be the first who predicted an Eclipse of the Sun; nor did the *Egyptians*, nor any other *Barbarians*, pretend to dispute that Honour with him. To this it will be said, that the *Egyptians* certainly taught *Pythagoras* the true Constitution of what we call the Solar System. We grant they did; but it is as certain, that they taught it not scientifically, but dogmatically, as they received it from Tradition; of which one Proof is, its being so soon lost after the *Greeks* began to Hypothesise^o.

ⁿ Δύο δὲ καὶ εἴκοσι ἔτη καὶ τὸ Αἴγυπτον ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς διετέλεσεν ἀστρονόμων καὶ γεωμετρῶν. — *Vit. Pyth.* c. 4.

^o *Fixas* in supremis mundi partibus immotas persistere, & Planetas his inferiores circa Solem revolvi, Terram pariter moveri cursu annuo, diurno verò circa axem proprium, & solem ceu focum Universi in omnium centro quiescere, antiquissima fuit Philosophantium sententia. Ab *Ægyptiis* autem astrorum antiquissimis observationibus propagatam esse hanc sententiam verisimile est. Et etiam ab illis & a gentibus conterminis ad Græ-

It will be asked then, in what consisted this boasted Wisdom of *Egypt*; which we have so much extolled throughout this Work; and for which Liberty we have so large Warrant from *Holy Scripture*? I reply, in the Science of LEGISLATION and CIVIL POLICY: But this by the by, at present.

That the *Egyptians* did not philosophise by Hypothesis and System, appears farther from the Character of their first *Greek* Disciples. Those early *Wise Men*, who fetched their Philosophy from *Egypt*, brought it home in detached and independent *Placits*; which was certainly as they found it. For, as the fine Writer of *The Enquiry into the Life of Homer* says, *there was yet no SEPARATION of WISDOM; the Philosopher and the Divine, the Legislator and the Poet were all united in the same Person.* Nor had they yet any Sects or Succession of Schools; these were late; and therefore the *Greeks* could not be mistaken in their Accounts of this Matter.

One of the first, as well as noblest Systems of Physics, is the Atomic Hypothesis, as it was revived by *Des Cartes*. This without all Doubt, was a *Greek* Invention; nothing being better settled, than that *Democritus* and *Leucippus* were the Authors. But *Posidonius*, either out of Envy or Whim, would rob them of this Honour, and give

cos, Gentem magis Philologicam quam Philosophicam, Philosophia omnis antiquior juxta & sanior manasse videtur. Subinde docuerunt Anaxagoras, Democritus, & alii nonnulli, Terram in centro mundi immotam stare, & astra omnia in occasum, aliqua celerius, alia tardius moveri, idque in spatiis liberrimis. Namque Orbes solidi postea ab Eudoxo, Calippo, Aristotele, introducti sunt; declinante in dies philosophiâ primitus introductâ, & novis Græcorum commentis paulatim prævalentibus. Quibus vinculis Antiqui Planetas in spatiis liberis retineri, deque cursu rectilineo perpetuò retractos, in Orbem regulariter agi docuere, non constat. In hujus rei explicationem orbes solidos excogitatos fuisse opinor. Newton. de Mundi Systemate.

it to one *Moschus* a *Phenician*. Our great *Cudworth* has gone into this Fancy, and made of that unknown *Moschus*, the celebrated Lawgiver of the *Jews*. The Learned *Dr. Burnet* having clearly overthrown this Notion, and vindicated the Right of their Discovery to the two *Greeks*, concludes in these Words: *Præterea non videtur mihi sapere indolem antiquissimorum temporum iste modus philosophandi, per hypotheses & principiorum systemata; quem modum, ab introductis Atomis, statim sequebantur Philosophi. Hæc Græcanica sunt, ut par est credere, & sequioris ævi. Durasse mihi videtur ultra Trojana tempora philosophia traditiva, quæ ratiociniis & causarum explicatione non nitebatur, sed alterius generis & originis doctrinâ, primigeniâ & πατροπαράδοτῳ P.*

This being the Case, we may easily know what *Plato* meant in saying, that *the Greeks improved whatever Science they received from the Barbarians*^q. Which Words *Celsus* seems to paraphrase, where he says, the *Barbarians* were good at INVENTING OPINIONS, but the *Greeks* only were able to PERFECT and SUPPORT them^r. And *Epicurus*, whose Spirit was entirely Systematical and Atheistic, finding nothing of these Delicacies amongst the *Barbarians*, roundly maintained that *the Greeks only knew how to philosophise*^s.

So much was the Author of *The Voyage of Cyrus* mistaken, in thinking that *the Orientalists had*

P *Archæol. Phil.* 1. 1. c. 6.

q Διὸ καὶ, ὡς ὁ Πλάτων φησὶν, ὅτι ἂν καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων μάθημα λάβωσιν οἱ Ἕλληνες, τὸ τοῦ ἀμεινον ἐκφέρασι. *Anon. de Vit. Pyth.* ap. *Photium*, Cod. 249.

r Καὶ ὁ γνῶμης γε οὗτος ὀνειδίζει ἐπὶ τῇ ἀπὸ βαρβάρων ἀρχῇ τῶ λόγῳ, ἐπαινῶν ὡς ἱκανὸς εὐρεῖν δόγματα τὰς βαρβάρους προσέθησι ἢ τούτοις, ὅτι κελίαι καὶ βεβαιώσααί τὰ ὑπὸ βαρβάρων εὐρεθέντα ἀμεινονές εἰσιν Ἕλληνες. *Orig. cont. Celsum*, p. 5.

s Ὁ δὲ Ἐπίκουρος ἔμπανιν, ὑπολαμβάνει μόνους φιλοσοφῆσαι Ἕλληνας δύνασθαι. *Clem. Alex. Strom.* 1. 1. p. 302. Ed. Morel. 1629.

a Genius more subtle and metaphysical than the Greeks^t. But he apparently formed his Judgment on this Matter, from what is seen of the modern Genius of that People; which learnt to speculate, of the Greek Philosophers, whose Writings, since the Arabian Conquests, have been translated into the Languages of the East.

It appears therefore, from the Nature of the Barbaric Philosophy, that such a Notion as that of the TO' EN could not be Egyptian.

2. But we shall shew next, that it was in Fact a Greek Invention, by the best Argument, the Discovery of the Inventors.

TULLY speaking of PHERECYDES SYRUS, the Master of Pythagoras, says, that he was the first who affirmed the Souls of Men to be ETERNAL, *Quod literis extet, Pherecydes Syrus primum dixit animos hominum esse SEMPITERNOS; antiquus sane; fuit enim meo regnante gentili. Hanc opinionem discipulus ejus Pythagoras maximè confirmavit*^v. This is a very extraordinary Passage. If it be taken in the common Sense of the Interpreters, that Pherecydes was the first, or the first of the Greeks, that taught the IMMORTALITY of the Soul, nothing can be more false or extravagant. Tully himself well knew the contrary, as appears from several Places of his Works, where he represents the Immortality of the Soul, as a Thing taught from the most early Times of Memory, and by all Mankind; the Author and Original of it, as Plutarch assures us, being entirely unknown; which indeed might be easily gathered, by any attentive Considerer, from the very early Practice of deifying the Dead. Tully therefore, who knew Homer taught it long before; who knew Herodotus recorded it to have been taught

^t Voiez Disc. sur la Mythologie.

^v Tusc. Disp. l. 1. c. 16.

by the *Egyptians* from the most early Times, must needs mean a different Thing; which the exact Propriety of the Word *Sempiternus* will lead us to. *Donatus* the Grammarian, says, that *SEMPITERNUS properly relates to the Gods, and PERPETUUS to Men; Sempiternum ad Deos, perpetuum proprie ad homines pertinet*^w: So that, a proper *ETERNITY* is attributed to the Soul; a Consequence that could only spring, and does spring necessarily from the Principle of the Soul's being *Part of God*. Here then *Cicero* hath given us a very illustrious Piece of History; which not only fixes the Doctrine of the *TO' EN* to *Greece*, but records the Inventor of it; and is farther confirmed by what he adds, that *Pythagoras*, the Scholar of *Phercydes*, took it from his Master, and by the Authority of his own Name added great Credit to it; so great indeed, that, as we have seen, it soon over-spread all the *Greek Philosophy*. And I make no Question but it was *Phercydes's* broaching this Impiety, and not hiding it so carefully as his great Disciple, by the *double Doctrine*, that made him pass with the People, for an Atheist. And if the Story of his mocking at all religious Worship, which *Ælian* ^x mentions, be true, it would much confirm the popular Opinion.

Tatian is the only ancient Writer I know of, that seems to be apprized of this Intrigue; or to have any Notion of *Phercydes's* true Character. Who writing to the *Greeks*, against their Philosophers, says, *Aristotle is the Heir of Phercydes's Doctrine; and traduces the Notion of the Soul's Immortality*^y. How true this is, and how exactly *Aristotle's* Opinion agrees with what we have here delivered as his Master's, may be seen above in

^w *In And. Ter. Act. V. Sc. V.* ^x *Var. Hist. l. 4. c. 28.*

^y Ὁ ὅ Αἰσχυρίτης τὸ Φερκύδης δόγματι κληρονόμος ἐστὶ, καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀββάλλει τὴν ἀθανασία. *Orat. ad Gr. c. 412.*

our Interpretation of a Passage in the *Nicomachean Ethics*^z. But the Singularity of *Tatian's* Censure has much embarrassed his Commentators to know on what it was grounded.

That *Phercydes* was the Inventor of this Notion, and not barely the Original Author of it, to the *Greeks*, may not only be collected from what hath been said above of the different Genius of the *Greek* and *Barbaric* Philosophy, but from what *Suidas* tells us of his being self-taught, and having no Master or Director of his Studies^a.

But as the *Greeks* had two Inventors of their best *physical* Principle, *Democritus* and *Leucippus*; so had they two likewise of this their worst *metaphysical*. For we have as positive Attestation for *THALES*, as we have seen before for *Phercydes*. There are, says *Laertius*, who affirm, that *Thales* was the first who held the Souls of Men to be immortal^b; ἀθανάτῃς; an Epithet, in the philosophic Ages of *Greece*, properly designing the Immortality of the Gods, as ἀφθάρτου, that of Men^c. The same Objection holds here against understanding it in the common Sense, as in the Case of *Phercydes*.

The Sum then of the Argument is this: *Thales* and *Phercydes*, who, we are to observe, were Contemporaries, are said to be the first who taught the Immortality of the Soul^d. In the common Sense of

^z See p. 426.

^a Ἀὐτὸν δὲ οὐκ ἐχρηκέναι καθυγητὴν, ἀλλ' ἐαυτὸν ἀσκησαι. Voc. Φερικύδ.

^b Ἐνιοὶ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν πρῶτον εἰπεῖν φασὶν ἀθανάτῃς ταῖς ψυχαῖς. l. i. § 24.

^c So *Eusebius* speaking of the political Gods of *Egypt*, says: Ἀλλὰς δὲ ἐκ τούτων ἐπιγεῖας γενέσθαι φασὶν, ὑπάρχοντας μὲν ΘΗΤΟΥΣ, ἀπὸ δὲ συνέσει καὶ κοινὴν ἀνθρώπων εὐεργεσίαν τετευχότας τῆς ΑΘΑΝΑΣΙΑΣ — *Præp. Evang.* l. iii. c. 3.

^d *Suidas* speaking of *Phercydes* says: Ἐξηλοτύπει δὲ τὴν Θάλητῃ δόξαν. Voc. Φερικύδ.

this Assertion, they were not the first; and known not to be so by those who asserted it. The same Antiquity informs us, they held the Doctrine of the TO' EN, which likewise commonly went by the Name of the Doctrine of the *Immortality*. Nor is any earlier on Record than they, for holding that Principle. We conclude therefore, that those who tell us they were the first who taught the *Immortality of the Soul*, necessarily meant that they were the first who held it to be *Part of the Divine Substance*. This, I say, we must have concluded, tho' *Plutarch* had not expressly affirmed it of *one* of them, where he says, that *Thales was the FIRST who taught the Soul to be an eternal-moving, or a self-moving Nature*^e. But none but God was held to be such a Nature: Therefore the Soul, according to him, was Part of the divine Substance; and he, according to *Plutarch*, was the *first* of that Opinion.

3. But though the *Greeks* were the Inventors of this impious Notion, we may be assured, as they had their first Learning from *Egypt*, that some *Egyptian* Principles led them into it. Let us see then what those Principles were.

The *Egyptians*, as we are assured by the concurrent Testimony of Antiquity, were amongst the first that taught the *Immortality of the Soul*: And this not, like the *Greek* Sophists, for Speculation; but for a Support to their practical Doctrine of a future State of Reward and Punishment; and, every thing being done in *Egypt* for the Sake of Society, a future State was enforced to secure the general Doctrine of a Providence. But still there would remain great Difficulties concerning the Origin of *Evil*, which seemed to affect the moral Attributes of God. And it was not enough for the

^e Θαλῆς ἀπεφώνητο ΠΡΩΤΟΣ τὴν ψυχὴν, φύσιν ἄΕΙΚΛΙΝΗΤΟΝ ἢ ἄΥΤΟΚΙΝΗΤΟΝ. *Plac. Phil.* l. 4. c. 2.

Purposes of Society, that there was a Divine Providence, unless that Providence was understood to be administered by a perfectly *good* and *just* Being. Some Solution therefore was to be given; and a better could not be well found, than the Notion of the *Metempsychosis*, or Transmigration of Souls, without which, in the Opinion of *Hierocles*^f, the Ways of Providence are not be justified. The necessary Consequence of this Doctrine was, that the *Soul* is elder than the *Body*: So having taught before, that the *Soul* was eternal, *a parte post*; and now, that it had an Existence before it came into the *Body*, the *Greeks*, to give a Roundness to their System, taught, on the Foundation of its Pre-existence, that it was eternal too, *a parte ante*^g.

Having thus given it *one* of the Attributes of the Divinity, another *Egyptian* Doctrine soon taught them to make a perfect *God Almighty* of it.

We have observed, that the *Mysteries* were an *Egyptian* Invention; and that the *Secrets* of them were the *Unity of the Godhead*. These were the grand *Ἀπορρήτεια*, in which, we are told, their Kings, and Magistrates, and a select Number of the Best and Wisest were instructed. It is clear then the Doctrine was delivered in such a Manner as was most useful to Society; but the Principle of the *Τὸ Ἐν* is as destructive to Society, as Atheism

^f *Lib. de Prov. apud Phot. Bib. Cod. 214.*

^g This is no precarious Conjecture; for *Suidas*, after having told us that *Pherocydes* (whom we have shewn above to be one of the Inventors of the Notion of the Soul's *proper Eternity*) had no Master, but struck every thing out of his own Thoughts; adds that *he had procured certain secret Phenician Books*, Ἀὐτὸν δὲ οὐκ ἐξηκέναι καθηγητὴν, ἀλλ' ἐαυτὸν ἀτεκῆσαι, κλησάμενον τὰ ΦΟΙΝΙΚΩΝ ἀπίκρυφα βιβλία. Now we know from *Eusebius's* Account of *Sanchoniatho*, and the famous Fragment there preserved, that these secret *Phenician Books* contained the *Egyptian* Wisdom and Learning.

can make it. However they had no gross Conceptions of the Deity, when they had found him; but represented him, as we are told by the Ancients, *as a Spirit diffusing itself through the World, and intimately pervading all Things*^h. And thus, the Egyptians, in a figurative moral Sense, saying, that GOD WAS ALL THINGSⁱ; the Greeks drew the Conclusion in a literal and metaphysical; that ALL THINGS WERE GOD^k; and so ran headlong into *Spinozism*; both which Expressions they afterwards father'd upon the Egyptians^l; and, if we trust the general Opinion, *rightly* fathered them.

4. But the Books, going under the Name of *Hermes Trismegistus*, having given the greatest Credit to this Opinion, it will be proper to explain that Matter.

The most virulent Enemies *Christianity* had to encounter, on its first Appearance in the World, were the *Platonists* and *Pythagoreans*. And *national Pa-*

^h Παρ' αὐτοῖς ὁ παντὸς κόσμος τὸ διηκόν ἐστὶ πνεῦμα. *Horapollo*. And *Virgil*, where he gives, as we have shewn, the ἀπόρρητα of the Mysteries, describes the Godhead in the same manner:

SPIRITUS intus alit, totamque infusa per artus
MENS agitat molem, & magno se corpore miscet.

ⁱ Δοκεῖ αὐτοῖς δίχα θεῶν μηδὲν ὅλως συνεστάναι. *Idem*.

^k In the Writings going under the Name of *Orpheus*, we find these Words: Ἐν τῇ τὰ πάντα.

^l The *Asclepian Dialogue* translated into Latin by *Apuleius*, says, OMNIA UNIUS ESSE, ET UNUM ESSE OMNIA. And again: *Nonne hoc dixi OMNIA UNUM ESSE, & UNUM OMNIA? Μόρια ὁ θεὸς πάντα ἐστὶν· εἰ ὃ πάντα μόρια, πάντα ἅρα ὁ θεός· πάντα ἐν ποιῶν, ἑαυτὸν ποιῇ. — ἰάν τις ἐπιχειρήσῃ τὸ πᾶν καὶ ἐν χορίσαι, τὸ πᾶν ὁ ἐνὸς λύσας ἀπλῆσει τὸ πᾶν, πάντα γὰρ ἐν εἴῃ δ᾽ αἱ.* Lib. 16. of the *Works of Trismegist* published by *Ficinus*. This Passage cannot be well understood without recollecting what we have observed above: “That the Egyptians saying, in a figurative moral Sense, that God was all Things, the Greeks drew the Conclusion in a literal and metaphysical, that all Things were God.” Now the *Platonist*, who forged these Books, being conscious, that this was a *Greek Conclusion*, artfully endeavours

ganism,

ganism, of which they set up for the Defenders, being, by its gross Absurdities, obnoxious to the most violent Retortion, their first Care was to cover and secure it, by *allegorizing* its Gods, and *spiritualizing* its Worship. But lest the Novelty of these Inventions should discredit them, they endeavoured to persuade the World, that all they taught of the Principles of Religion, was agreeable to the ancient mysterious Wisdom of *Egypt*: In which Point, several Circumstances concurred to favour them. 1. As first, that known, uncontroverted Fact, that the *Greek* Religion and Philosophy came originally from *Egypt*. 2. The State of the *Egyptian* Philosophy in those Times. The Power of *Egypt* had been much shaken by the *Persians*, but totally subverted by the *Greeks*. Under the *Ptolemies*, this famous Nation suffering an entire Revolution in their Learning and Religion, the *Egyptian* Priests, as was natural, began to philosophise entirely in the *Grecian* Mode; and at the Time we speak of, had for several Ages, accustomed themselves so to do, having neglected and forgot all the old *Egyptian* Learning; which, considering their many subversive Revolutions, will not appear at all strange to those who reflect, that that Learning was conveyed from Hand to Hand, partly by unfaithful *Tradition*, and partly by uncertain *Hieroglyphics*. However a Pretence of being the Repositories of the true old *Egyptian* Wisdom, derived too much Honour to the Colleges of their Priests, not to contrive a Way to support it. 3. Which they did (and this leads me to the third favourable Circum-

in the Words above, to shew it a necessary Consequence of the *Egyptian* Premises, which he pretends conveyed an imperfect Representation of the Universe without it. *If any one* (says he) *go about to separate the All from the One, he will destroy the All, for all ought to be one.*

stance)

stance) by forging Books under the Name of *Hermes Trismegistus*, the great Hero and Law-giver of the old *Egyptians*. This was a ready Expedient: For in the Times of the *Ptolemies* the Practice of forging Books became general, and the Art arrived to its utmost Perfection. But had not the *Greeks* of this Time been so universally infatuated with the Delusion of mistaking their own Philosophy for the old *Egyptian*, there were Marks enough to have detected the Forgery. *Jamblicus* says, *the Books that go under the Name of Hermes do indeed contain the Hermaic Doctrines, THOUGH THEY OFTEN USE THE LANGUAGE OF THE PHILOSOPHERS: For they were translated out of the Egyptian Tongue by MEN NOT UNACQUAINTED WITH PHILOSOPHY*^m. Whether this Writer saw the Cheat, or was in the Delusion, I can't say; but he has owned all we need of him, and made the Matter much worse by a bad Vindication. But the Credit of these Forgeries we may well imagine had its Foundation in some genuine Writings of *Hermes*. There were in Fact such Writings; and, what is more, we have Fragments of them yet remaining, sufficient, if we wanted other Proof, to convict the *Books that go under the Name of Hermes*, of Imposture. For what *Eusebius* hath given us, from *SANCHONIATHO*, concerning the *Cosmogony*, was taken from the genuine Works of *Thoth* or *Hermes*; and in them we see not the least Resemblance to that Genius of Refinement and Speculation, which makes the Character of these forged Writings; every thing is plain and simple, free of all Hypothesis or metaphysical Reasoning, those Inventions of the later *Greeks*.

^m Τα μὲν φερόμενα, ὡς Ἑρμῆς ἑρμαϊκὰς περιέχει δόξας, εἰ καὶ τῇ
 τῶν φιλοσόφων γλώττῃ πολλάκις χρῆται· μελανόγραπαι γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς
 Ἀιγυπτίας γλώττης ὑπὸ ἀνδρῶν φιλοσοφίας οὐκ ἀπέριως ἐχόντων.
De Myst.

Thus

Thus the later *Pythagoreans* and *Platonists*, being supplied with the Prejudices and Forgeries, turned them the best they could against *Christianity*. Under these Auspices, *Jamblicus* composed the Book just before mentioned, *Of the Mysteries*; meaning the profound and recondite Doctrines of *Egyptian* Wisdom: Which, at Bottom, is nothing else but the genuine *Greek Philosophy*, imbrowned with the Fanaticism of Eastern Cant.

But their chief Strength lay in the Forgery, which they even interpolated, the better to serve their Purpose against *Christianity*.

It is pleasant enough to observe how some primitive *Apologists* defended themselves against the Authority of these Books. One would imagine they should have detected the Forgery; which, we see, was easy enough to do. Nothing like it: Instead of that, they opposed Forgery to Forgery; and added themselves some Books to this noble Collection of *Trismegist*: For they too, as well as the *Pagans*, had their *Platonists* for such Services; who in these Books have made *Hermes* speak plainer of the Mysteries of *Christianity*, than even the *Jewish* Prophets themselvesⁿ.

ⁿ But this was the Humour of the Times; for the Grammarians at the Height of their Reputation, under the *Ptolemies*, had shamefully neglected *Critical Learning*, which was their Province, to apply themselves to forging Books under the Names of old Authors. There is a remarkable Passage in *Diogenes Laertius*, which is obscure enough to deserve an Explanation, and will shew us how common it was to oppose Forgery to Forgery. He is arguing against those who gave the Origin of Philosophy, which he would have to be from *Greece*, to the *Barbarians*; that is, the *Egyptians*. Λανθάνουσι δ' αὐτὰς τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καλορθώματα, ἀφ' ὧν μὴ ὅτι γε φιλοσοφία, ἀλλὰ καὶ γένεσις ἀνθρώπων ἤρξε, Βαρβάρους προσαπλοῖντες· ἰδὲ γὰρ ὡς καὶ μὴ Ἀθηναίοις γέγονε Μυσαῖος, ὡς καὶ ὁ Θηβαίους Λίνου· καὶ τὸ μὴ, Εὐμόλπου παῖδα, φασὶ, ποιῆσαι ὃ θεολογίαν καὶ σφαῖραν πρῶτον φάναι τε ἐξ ἑνὸς τὰ πάντα γένεσθαι, καὶ εἰς ταῦτόν ἀναλύεσθαι. Lib. 1. § 3. But these

Their

Their playing *Trismegist* in this manner back upon their Enemies, reminds one of that known Story of the two Law Solicitors: The one had forged a Bond against the other, who, instead of losing Time to detect the Knavery, chose rather to find Evidence to prove that he had discharged it at the Day^o.

These are my Sentiments of the Imposture. *Cassaubon* supposes the whole a Forgery of some *Platonic Christians*: But *Cudworth* has fully shewn the

erroneously apply to the Barbarians the illustrious Inventions of the Greeks; from whence not only Philosophy, but the very Race of Mankind had its Beginning. Thus we know Musæus was of Athens, and Linus of Thebes: The former of these, the Son of Eumolpus, is said to have wrote in Verse, of the Sphere, and of the Generation of the Gods: And to have taught, that ALL THINGS PROCEED FROM ONE, AND WILL BE RESOLVED BACK AGAIN INTO IT. To see the Force of this Reasoning, we must suppose, that those *Laertius* is here confuting, relied principally on this Argument, to prove that Philosophy came originally from the *Barbarians*; namely, that the great Principle of the *Greek Philosophy*, the τὸ ἐν and the *Refusion*, was an *Egyptian* Notion. To this he replies, Not so: *Musæus* taught it originally in *Athens*. The Dispute we see is pleasantly conducted: His Adversaries, who supported the common, and indeed, the true Opinion of Philosophy's coming first from the *Barbarians*, by the false Argument of the τὸ ἐν's being originally *Egyptian*, took this on the Authority of the forged Books of *Trismegist*: And *Laertius* opposes it by as great a Forgery, the Fragments that went under the Name of *Musæus*.

° This Practice of *particular Men* in forging Works under famous Names, a Scandal so abhorrent to the Purity of our holy Religion, having arisen solely from the Genius of the *Grecian Sophistry*, when its Professors entered into the Church, I thought I might censure it with Freedom. How far I am from attempting to lessen the Estimation of the *Fathers* may be seen p. 301. Note (k) where I vindicate their best Writings from the unjust Censure of some modern Critics; and pages 409, and 423, where I apologise for their worst; and, by shewing the important Considerations that betrayed them into Error, very much soften the shocking Appearance of some of their Opinions concerning God and the Soul.

Weakness

Weakness of that Opinion. This latter Author is sometimes inclined to give them to the *Pagan Platonists of those Times*; which seems highly improbable,

1. Because they are always mentioned, both by *Christian* and *Pagan* Writers, as Works long known and of some considerable standing. 2. Because, had *those Platonists* been the Authors, they would not have delivered the Doctrine of the Soul's Consubstantiality with the Deity, and its Refusion into him, in the gross Manner in which we find it in the Books of *Trismegist*. For, as we have shewn above by a Passage from *Porphyry*^p, they had confined that irreligious Notion to the Souls of Brutes. At other Times, this great Critic seems disposed to think that they might indeed be genuine, and translated, as we see *Jamblicus* would have them, from old *Egyptian* Originals: But this, we presume, is sufficiently overthrown by what has been said above.

In a Word, these Forgeries passing unsuspected on all hands, and containing the rankest *Spinozism*^q, it went currently, at that Time, for an *Egyptian* Principle: And though, since the Revival of Learning, the Cheat has been detected, yet the false Notion of this Original has kept its Ground; partly for the Reasons mentioned before, and partly, perhaps, on Account of what we are told by modern Travellers, of the present Eastern *Pagans* (whose Religion may be easily proved to have been originally from *Egypt*) who, they say, have run into the grossest *Spinozism*. But length of Time and Com-

^p See Note (c) p. 430.

^q As in the following Passage: 'Ουκ ἤκαστας ἐν τοῖς Γενικοῖς, ὅτι ἀπὸ μιᾶς ψυχῆς τ' ἔ' παντὸς παῖσαι αἱ ψυχαί εἰσιν; — As where it is affirmed of the World, πάντα ποιεῖν, καὶ εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἀπποιεῖν. — Of the Incorruptibility of the Soul; πῶς μέρεσσι δύναται φθαρεῖναι ἢ ἀφθάρη, ἢ ἀπολέσθαι τι τῷ θεῷ. — ὁ γὰρ εἶναι ἀπόλειμμενόν τ' ἐσιότητες ἔ' θεῷ, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἡ πλωμένη καθίπρεσσι τὸ ἔ' ἡλίου φῶς.

munication with the first *Mahometan Arabians*, who had learnt their Philosophy of the *Greeks*, and were distinguished for the Profession of this Principle, evidently led the modern Eastern People into these ill Conclusions of refined Speculation; which will appear the more probable from hence, that the *Druids*, another Branch from *Egypt*, who became extinct before they had time to refine and hypothesise, held nothing that approached to this Opinion.

Why I have been thus solicitous in vindicating the *Egyptian* Wisdom from this Opprobrium, will be seen in its Place.

And now, to sum up the general Argument of this last Section; These two Errors in the *metaphysical* Speculations of the Philosophers, concerning *the Nature of God, and of the Soul*, were what necessarily kept them from giving Credit to a Doctrine highly probable in itself, and rendered so, even by themselves, from many moral Considerations, perpetually preached up to the People. But, as we observed before, it was their ill Fate to be determined in their Opinions, rather by *metaphysical* than *moral* Arguments. This is best seen by comparing the Belief and Conduct of *SOCRATES* with the rest. He was singular, as we said before, in confining himself to the Study of Morality; and as singular in believing the Doctrine of a future State of Rewards and Punishments. What could be the Cause of this latter Singularity, but the former, of which it was a natural Consequence? For having thrown aside all other Speculations, he had nothing to mislead him: Whereas the rest of the Philosophers applying themselves, with a kind of Fanaticism, to *Physics* and *Metaphysics*, had drawn a Number of absurd, though subtil Conclusions, that directly opposed the Consequences of those moral Arguments. And as it is common for Parents to be fondest

fondest of their weakest and most deformed Offspring, so these Men, as we said, were always more swayed by their *metaphysical* than *moral* Conclusions.

Thus, as the Apostle PAUL divinely observes, PROFESSING THEMSELVES TO BE WISE, THEY BECAME FOOLS^r. Well therefore might he warn his Followers lest they should *be spoiled through vain Philosophy*^s: And one of them, and he no small Fool neither, is upon Record for having been thus *spoiled*; SYNESIUS a *Platonist*, and Bishop of *Ptolemaïs*. This Man, forsooth, could not be brought to believe the *Christian* Doctrine of the Resurrection: And why? Because he believed the Soul to be before the Body; that is, eternal, *a parte ante*: And the Consequence of this, we have seen, was what disposed the *Platonists* to reject all future State of Rewards and Punishments. However, he was not for shaking Hands with *Christianity*, but would suppose some grand and profound Mystery to lie hid under the Scripture Account of the Resurrection. This again was in the very Spirit of *Plato*; who, as we are told by *Celsus*, concealed many sublime Things of this kind, under his popular Doctrine of a future State^t.

But it was not peculiar to the *Platonists* to allegorize the Doctrine of the *Resurrection*. It was the Humour of all the *Seëts* on their Admission into *Christianity*^v. For being, in their moral Lectures in their Schools, accustomed to call vicious

^r ROM. i. 22. ^s COLOSS. ii. 8.

^t See Note (e) p. 389. It was just the same with the *Jewish Platonists* at the Time when the Doctrine of a future State became national amongst that People. And *Philo* himself seems disposed to turn the Notion of Hell into an Allegory, signifying an impure and sinful Life. See his Tract *De congressu quærendæ eruditionis causâ*.

^v Et ut carnis restitutio negetur, de una omnium Philosophorum schola sumitur. *Tertul. de præsc. adv. Hæret.*

Habits, *Death*; and Reformation to a good Life *ἀνάστασις* or a *Resurrection*, they were disposed to understand *the Resurrection of the Just* in the same Sense. Against these Pests of the Gospel it was^w that the blessed Apostle *Paul* warned his Son *Timothy*; SHUN PROFANE AND VAIN BABBLINGS, for they will increase unto more Ungodliness. And their Word will eat as doth a Canker: Of whom is *Hymenæus* and *Philetus*, who concerning the Truth have erred, saying that THE RESURRECTION IS PAST ALREADY; and overthrow the Faith of some^x.

And here I beg Leave to observe, that whenever the Holy Apostles speak of, or hint at the Philosophers or Philosophy of Greece, which is not seldom, they always do it in Terms of Contempt or Abhorrence. On this Account I have neither been ashamed nor afraid to shew at large that the Reasons they had for so doing were just and weighty. Nor have I thought myself at all concerned to manage the Reputation of a Set of Men, who, on the first Appearance of *Christianity*, most virulently opposed it, by all the Arts of Sophistry and Injustice: And when, by the Force of its superior Evidence, they were at length driven into it, were no sooner in than they began to deprave and corrupt it. For from their *profane and vain Babblings*, *Tertullian* assures us, every Heresy took its Birth. *Ipsi illi sapientiae professores, de quorum ingeniis omnis hæresis animatur*^y. And, in another Place he gives

^w Hinc illæ fabulæ & genealogiæ indeterminabiles, & quæstiones infructuosæ, & *Sermones serpentes velut cancer*: à quibus nos Apostolus refrænans, nominatim philosophiam, &c. *Tertul. de præsc. adv. Hæret.* ^x 2 TIM. ii. 16.

^y *Adv. Marc. l. i.* The Author of a Fragment concerning the *Philosophers* going under the Name of *Origen*, says the same thing: ἀλλ' ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς [Αἱρετικοῖς] τὰ δοξαζόμενα δόχην μὲν ἐκ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς σοφίας λαβόντα, ἐκ δὲ δογμάτων φιλοσοφημάτων, καὶ ΜΥΣΤΗΡΙΩΝ ἐπιτελεσθέντων καὶ ἀεὶ ἐργασίᾳ ἐμδομένων.

us their *Genealogy*. *Ipsæ denique Hæreses à PHILOSOPHIA subornantur. Inde Æones & formæ, nescio quæ, & trinitas hominis apud Valentinum: PLATONICUS fuerat. Inde Marcionis Deus melior de tranquillitate, a STOICIS venerat; & uti anima interire dicatur, ab EPICUREIS observatur: ET UT CARNIS RESTITUTIO NEGETUR, DE UNA OMNIUM PHILOSOPHORUM SCHOLA SUMITUR: Et ubi materia cum Deo æquatur, ZENONIS Disciplina est: Et ubi aliquid de igneo Deo allegatur, HERACLITUS intervenit. Eædem Materiæ apud Hæreticos & Philosophos volutantur; iidem retractatus implicantur. Unde malum, & quare? & unde homo, & quomodo? & quod proximè Valentinus proposuit, unde Deus? Scilicet & de *Entymesi*, *Etromate* inserunt ARISTOTELEM, qui illis *Dialecticam* instituit, artificem struendi & destruendi, versipellem in sentiis coactam, in conjecturis duram, in argumentis operariam, contentione molestantem, etiam sibi ipsi omnia retractantem, nequid omnino tractaverit. Hinc illæ fabulæ & genealogiæ indeterminabiles, & quæstiones infructuosæ & SERMONES SERPENTES VELUT CANCER, a quibus nos *Apostolus refrænans*², &c. One would almost imagine, from these last Words, that *Tertullian* had foreseen that *Aristotle* was to be the Founder of the *School Divinity*.*

Why the Heathen Philosophers of our Times are so much displeased to see their ancient Brethren shewn for Knaves in Practice, and Fools in *Theory*, is very evident: But why any else should think themselves concerned in the Force and Fidelity of the *Drawing*, is to me a greater Mystery than any I have attempted to unveil. For a stronger Proof of the *Necessity* of the Gospel of *Jesus Christ* cannot, I think, be given than this, that the *Sages of Greece*, with whom all the *Wisdom* of the World was supposed to be de-

² *De præsc. adv. Hæret.* p. 70, 71. Ed. Par. 1580.

posited^a, had *philosophised* themselves out of the most evident and useful Truth with which Mankind hath any Concern.

In Conclusion, it is but fit we should give the Reader some Account why we have been so long and so particular on this Matter.

One Reason was (to mention no other at present) to obviate an Objection, that might possibly be urged against our Proof, of *The Divine Legation of Moses*, from the Omission of a future State. For if now the *Deists* should say, and we know they are ready to say any thing, that *Moses did not propagate that Doctrine, because he did not believe it*; we have here an Answer ready: Having shewn from Fact, that *the not believing a Doctrine so useful to Society, was esteemed no Reason for the Legislator not to propagate it*. I say, having shewn from the Practice of the Philosophers: For as to the Legislators, that is, those who were not Philosophers professed, it appears by what can be learnt from their History and Character, that they *all believed*, as well as taught, *a future State of Rewards and Punishments*. And indeed how should it be otherwise? For they held nothing of those metaphysical Whimsies concerning God and the Soul that had so befottered the Philosophers. And I know of nothing else that could prevent any Man's believing it.

S E C T. V.

BUT it will now perhaps be said, that though we have designed well, and hereby obviated an Objection arising from the present Question; yet it was imprudent to do it by a Circumstance that seems to turn to the Discredit of the *Christian Doctrine* of a future State. For what can bear harder on the

^a I COR. i. 20.

Reasonableness of that Doctrine, than that the best and wisest Persons of Antiquity did not believe a future State of Rewards and Punishments?

To this we reply,

1. That if the Authority of the *Greek Philosophers* be of any weight with us in Matters of Religion, it is more than ever the *Sacred Writers* intended they should, as appears from the Character they have given us of them and their Works.

2. That had we indeed contented ourselves with barely shewing, that the Philosophers rejected the Doctrine of a future State of Rewards and Punishments, without explaining the Grounds and Causes of their Disbelief, some slender Suspicion against the *Christian* Doctrine, arising from their Authority, might perhaps, have taken Possession of the weaker Sort of Minds. But when we have at large explained those Grounds, which, of all philosophic Tenets, are known to be the most absurd; and seen these adhered to, while the best moral Arguments in the World, for it, were overlooked and neglected, the Authority of their Conclusions loses all its Weight.

3. But *thirdly*, we say, had we done nothing of all this, but left them in Possession of their whole Authority, it would have been found impertinent to the Point in Hand. The contrary Supposition hath arisen on a foolish Error: Those, who mistake *Christianity* for *only a Republication of the Religion of Nature*, must, of Course, suppose the Doctrine it teaches of a future State, to be one of those which natural Religion discovers. It would therefore seem a Discredit to that Republication, had the Doctrine been investigable by human Reason; and some Men would be apt to think it was, when the Philosophers had missed of it. But our holy Religion, as I hope to prove in the last Book, is quite another Thing: And *this* will be seen to be a Consequence of what

we shew to be its true Nature, that *its* Doctrine of a future State is not one of those which natural Religion teaches. The Authority of the Philosophers, therefore, is entirely out of the Question.

4. But *fourthly*, it will be found hereafter, that this *Fact* is so far from weakening the Doctrines of *Christianity*, that it is one strong Argument for the *Truth* of that Dispensation.

5. But as we have often seen Writers deceived in their Representations of *Pagan* Antiquity; and, while zealously busy in giving *such* as they imagined favourable to *Christianity*, they have been all the Time diserving it; lest I myself should be suspected of having fallen into the common Delusion, I shall beg leave, in the last Place, to shew, that it is just such a Representation of Antiquity as this which can possibly countenance our holy Religion. And that consequently, if what we have here given be the *true*, it does much Service to it.

This will best appear by considering the two usual Views Men have had, and the consequent Methods they have pursued, in bringing in *Pagan* Antiquity into the Scene.

Their Design has been either to illustrate the *Reasonableness*, or to shew the *Necessity* of *Christianity*.

If the *first*, their Way was to represent Antiquity, as comprehending all the fundamental Truths, concerning God and the Soul, which our holy Religion hath revealed. But as greatly as this Representation was supposed to serve their Purpose, the Infidels, we see, have joined Issue with them; and from their own *Fact*, have endeavoured to shew, with much Plausibility of Reasoning, that therefore *Christianity* was not *necessary*: And this very Advantage, *Tindal* (under Cover of a Principle, which some modern Divines seemed to afford him, of *Christianity's* being
only

only a Republication of the Religion of Nature) obtained against the great Dr. Clarke.

If their Design was to shew the *Necessity* of *Christianity*, they have then taken the other Course, and (perhaps, out of a Sense of the former Mischief) run into the opposite Extreme; in representing Antiquity as quite ignorant of the first Principles of Religion, and moral Duty. Nay, not only that it knew nothing, but that nothing could be known: For that human Reason was too weak to make Discoveries in these Matters. Consequently, that *there was never any such thing as natural Religion*: And what Glimmerings of Knowledge Men had of this kind, were only the dying Sparks of primitive Tradition. Here again the Infidels turned their own Artillery upon them, in order to dismount that boasted *Reasonableness* of *Christianity*, on which they had so much insisted: And indeed what room was there left to judge of it, after human Reason had been represented as so weak and blind?

Thus while they were contending for the *Reasonableness*, they destroyed the *Necessity*; and while they urged the *Necessity*, they risked the *Reasonableness* of *Christianity*. And these Infidel Retortions had an almost irresistible Force on the Principles our Advocates seemed to go upon; namely, *that Christianity was only a Republication of a primitive Religion*.

It appears then, that the only View of Antiquity which gives solid Advantage to the *Christian Cause*, is such a one as shews natural Reason to be *clear* enough to perceive Truth, and the *Necessity* of its Deductions when *proposed* and shewn; but not generally *strong* enough to *discover* it, and draw right Deductions from it. Just such a View we have given of Antiquity, as far as relates to the Point in Question; which we presume to be the *true*, not only in that Point, but likewise with regard to the

State of natural Religion in general : Where we find human Reason could penetrate very far into the essential Difference of Things ; but wanting the true Principles of Religion, the Ancients neither knew the Origin of Obligation, nor the Consequence of Obedience. *Revelation* has discovered those Principles, and we now wonder, that such Prodigies of Parts and Knowledge could commit the gross Absurdities, that are to be found in their best Treatises of Morality. Which yet does not hinder us from falling into a greater and worse Delusion. For having seen of late several excellent Systems of Morals, under the Title of *The Principles of natural Religion*, that disclaim the Aid of Revelation, we are apt to think them indeed the Discoveries of natural Reason ; and so to regard their Excellencies as an Objection to the *Necessity* of any farther Light. The Pretence is plausible ; but sure, there must be some Mistake at Bottom ; and the great Difference in Point of Perfection, between these *imaginary* Productions of Reason, and those *real* ones of the most learned Ancients, will increase our Suspicion. The Truth is, these modern System Writers had Aids, which as they do not acknowledge, so, I will believe, they did not perceive. These Aids were the true Principles of Religion, delivered by *Revelation* : Principles so clear and evident, that they are now mistaken to be amongst our first and simplest Ideas : But those who have studied Antiquity, know the Matter to be far otherwise.

I cannot better illustrate the State and Condition of the *human Mind*, before *Revelation*, than by the following *Instance*. A Summary of the *Atomic* Philosophy is given us in the *Theætetus* of *Plato* : Yet being delivered without its Principles, when *Plato's* Writings, at the Revival of Learning, came to be studied and commented, this Summary remained altogether

altogether unintelligible: For there had been an Interruption in the Succession of that School for many Ages; and neither *Marsilius Ficinus*, nor *Serranus* could give any reasonable Account of the Matter. But as soon as *Des Cartes* had revived that Philosophy, by excogitating its Principles anew, the Mist removed, and every one saw clearly (though *Cudworth*, I think, was the first who brought it into Observation) that *Plato* had given a curious and exact Account of that excellent Physiology. And *Des Cartes* was now thought by some, to have borrowed his original Ideas from thence; though, but for his Revival of the *Atomic* Principles, that Passage had remained in lasting Obscurity. Just so it was with respect to *human Knowledge*: Had not *Revelation* discovered the true Principles of Religion, they had without doubt continued eternally unknown. Yet on Discovery, they appeared so consonant to *that* Knowledge, that Men were apt to mistake them for the Product of it.

S E C T. VI.

WE have now gone through our second general Proposition, which is, THAT ALL MANKIND, ESPECIALLY THE MOST WISE AND LEARNED NATIONS OF ANTIQUITY, HAVE CONCURRED IN BELIEVING, AND TEACHING, THAT THE DOCTRINE OF A FUTURE STATE OF REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS WAS NECESSARY TO THE WELL-BEING OF SOCIETY. In doing this, we have presumed to enter the very *Penetralia* of Antiquity, and expose its most venerable Secrets to open day; some Parts of which having been accidentally and obscurely seen by Owl-light, were imagined by such as *Toland*, *Blount*, and *Coward*, as is natural for Objects seen in the Dark, to wear strange gigantic Forms of
Affright

Affright and Terror, to the Disturbance of many sober *Christians*.

The ridiculous Use these Men have made of what they did not understand, may perhaps revive in the Reader's Mind that stale atheistical Objection, that *Religion is only a CREATURE OF POLITICS*, a State-Engine, invented by the Legislator, to draw the Knot of Civil Society the closer. And the rather, because *that* Objection being founded on the apparent Use of Religion to Civil Policy; we may be supposed to have added much Strength to it, by shewing in this Work, in a fuller manner than, I think, has been hitherto done, the Extent of that Utility, and the Legislator's large Sphere of Agency in applying it.

For thus stood the Case: I was to prove *Moses's Divine Assistance*, from his being ABLE to leave out of his Religion the Doctrine of a *future State*. This necessitated me to shew, that that Doctrine was *naturally* of the utmost Importance to Society. But of all the Arguments, by which it may be proved, the most generally satisfactory, if not the strongest, is the Conduct of Lawgivers with regard thereto. Hence the long Detail of Circumstances in the second and third Books.

But indeed it not only served to the Purpose of my particular Question, but, appeared to me, to be one of the strongest, and least equivocal Proofs of the Truth of Religion in general; and to deserve, in that View only, to be minutely examined and insisted on. I therefore considered this Volume, and desire the Reader would so consider it, as a whole and separate Work of itself, *to prove the Truth of Religion in general, from its infinite Service to human Society*, though it be but the Introduction to the Truth of the *Mosaic*.

Let us examine it: Lawgivers have unanimously concurred

concurred in propagating Religion. This could be only from a Sense and Experience of its Utility, in which they could not be deceived: Religion therefore has a general *Utility*. We desire no more to establish its *Truth*.

For, *Truth* and general *Utility* necessarily coincide: That is, *Truth* is *productive* of *Utility*, and *Utility* is *indicative* of *Truth*. That *Truth* is *productive* of *Utility*, appears from the Nature of the Thing. Observing *Truth*, is acting as Things really are: He who acts as Things really are, must gain his End; all Disappointment proceeding from acting as Things are not; just as in reasoning from true or false Principles, the Conclusion that follows must be necessarily right or wrong. But gaining the End of acting is *Utility* or *Happiness*; Disappointment of the End, *Hurt* or *Misery*. If then *Truth* produce *Utility*, the other Part of the Proposition, that *Utility* indicates *Truth*, follows necessarily. For not to follow, supposes two different kinds of general *Utility* relative to the same Creature, one proceeding from *Truth*, the other from *Falshood*; which is impossible; because the Natures of those *Utilities* must then be different, that is, one of them must, at the same time, be, and not be, *Utility*. Wherever then we find universal *Utility*, we may certainly know it for the Product of *Truth* which it indicates. But the Practice of Legislators shews us, that this *Utility* results from Religion. The Consequence is, that *Religion, or the Idea of the Relation between the Creature and Creator, is true*.

However as the unanimous Concurrence of Lawgivers to support Religion, hath furnished Matter for this poor Infidel Pretence, I shall take leave to examine it to the Bottom.

Our Adversaries are by no means agreed amongst themselves: Some of them have denied the *Truth* of
of

of Religion, because it was of *no Utility*; others, because it was of *so much*. But commend me to the Man, who, out of pure genuine Spight to Religion, can employ these two contrary Systems at once, and not be at the Expence even of a Blush^b. However *that* most adhered to, is *the political Invention of Religion*, for its *Use*: The other being only the idle Exercise of a few Dealers in Paradoxes.

We have begun this Volume with a Confutation of the *first* of these Systems, and shall now end it with an Examination of the *other*. For being driven from their first hold, by shewing the Usefulness of Religion, they preposterously retire into *this*, in order to recover their Ground.

Critias of *Athens*, one of the thirty Tyrants, and the most execrable of the Thirty, is at the Head of this Division; whose Principles he delivers in the most beautiful *Iambics*. His Words are to this Purpose: “There^c was a Time when Man lived

^b See *Blount's Anima Mundi*, and *Original of Idolatry*.

^c Ἦν χρόνος ὅτ' ἦν ἀτακία ἀνθρώπων βίη καὶ ἀνεκείδης, ἐκείνη ἡ ἐρώτης, &c. *Apud Sext. Emp. adv. Phys. c. 9. § 54.* There are many various Readings of this Fragment; and I have every where chosen that which I thought the right. That *Critias* was the Author, how much soever the Critics seem inclined to favour the Claim of *Euripides*, I make no Scruple to assert. The Difficulty lies here: *Sextus Empiricus* expressly gives it to *Critias*; and yet *Plutarch* is still more express for *Euripides*; names the *Play* it belonged to; and adds this farther Circumstance, that the Poet chose to vent his Impiety under the Character of *Sisyphus*, in order to keep clear of the Laws. Thus two of the most knowing Writers of Antiquity are adjudged irreconcilable in a mere Matter of Fact. Mr. *Petit*, who has examined the Matter at large [*Observ. Miscell. l. i. c. 1.*] declares for the Authority of *Plutarch*. And Mr. *Bayle* has fully shewn the Weakness of his Reasoning in support of *Plutarch's* Claim. [*Crit. Dict. Art. CRITIAS, Rem. H.*] *Petit's* Solution is this, that there is an *Hiatus* in the Text of *Sextus*: That a Copist, from whom all the existent MSS. are derived, when he came to *Critias*, unwarily jumped

“like

“ like a Savage, without Government or Laws,
 “ the Minister and Executioner of Violence ; when
 “ there was neither Reward annexed to Virtue,
 “ nor Punishment attendant upon Vice. Afterwards

over the Passage quoted from him, together with *Sextus's* Observation of *Euripides's* being in the same Sentiments, and so joined the Name of *Critias* and the *Iambics* of *Euripides* together. But this is plainly seen to be such a Liberty of conjecturing, as would unsettle all the Monuments of Antiquity. I take the true Solution of the Difficulty to be this: *Critias*, a Man, as the Ancients deliver him to us, of atheistic Principles, and a fine poetic Genius, composed these *Iambics* for the private Solace of his Fraternity ; which were not kept so close but that they got air, and came to the Knowledge of *Euripides*: To whom the general Current of Antiquity conspires, in giving a very virtuous and religious Character, notwithstanding the iniquitous Insinuations of *Plutarch* to the contrary. And the Tragic Poet, being to draw the Atheist *Sisyphus*, artfully projected to put these *Iambics* into his Mouth: For by this Means the Sentiments would be sure to be natural, as taken from Life ; and the Poet safe from the Danger of being called to Account for them. And admitting this, *Plutarch's* Account becomes very reasonable ; who tells us, the Poet delivered this atheistic Doctrine by a dramatic Character, to evade the Justice of the *Areopagus*. But without this it cannot be admitted : For, thinly to cover Impiety by the mere *Person* of a *Drama*, which was an important Part in their Festivals, and under the constant Eye of the Magistrate, was a poor way of evading the Penetration and Severity of that tremendous Judicature, how good a modern shift soever it might be. But the giving the Verses of *Critias* to his Atheist, was a safe Means of keeping under Cover. For all Resentment must needs fall on the real Author ; especially when, it was seen, they were produced solely for Condemnation, as will now be proved. Without doubt, the chief Motive *Euripides* had in this Contrivance, was the Satisfaction of exposing a very wicked Man ; in which he had no Apprehensions, to deter him, from his Adversary's Power, for *Critias* was then a private Man, the *Sisyphus* being acted in the 91st Olymp. and the Tyranny of the Thirty not beginning till the latter End of the 93^d. But what is above all, the Genius and Cast of that particular *Drama* wonderfully favoured his Design : For the *Sisyphus* was the last of a *Tetralogy* (τετραλογία τραγικῶν δραμάτων) or a *satyric Tragedy*, in which Species of Poetry, a Licence something resembling that of the *old Comedy*, of branding ill Citizens, was indulged ; and where the same Custom

“ it

“ it appears, that Men invented Civil Laws to be
 “ a Curb to Evil. From hence Justice presided
 “ over the human Race; Force became a Slave to
 “ Right, and Punishment irremissibly pursued the
 “ Transgressor. But when now the Laws had re-
 “ strained an open Violation of Right, Men set upon
 “ contriving, how secretly to injure others. And
 “ then it was, as I suppose, that some cunning Po-
 “ litician, well versed in the Knowledge of Man-
 “ kind, counterplotted this Design, by the Invention
 “ of a Principle that would hold wicked Men in awe,
 “ even when about to say, or think, or act ill in
 “ private. And this was by bringing in the Belief
 “ of a God; whom he taught to be immortal, of
 “ infinite Knowledge and a Nature superlatively ex-

of parodying the Writings of other Poets was in use. And we may be sure that *Euripides*, who was wont to satyrize his fellow-Writers in his serious Tragedies (as where in his *Electra* he ridicules the *Discovery* in the *Choephoroi* of *Æschylus*) would be little disposed to spare them in this ludicrous kind of Composition. Admitting this to be the Case; it could not but be, that for a good while after, these *Iambics* would be quoted by some as *Critias's*, whose *Property* they were; and by others, as *Euripides's*, who had got the *Use*, and in whose Tragedy they were found; and by both with Reason. But in After-times this matter was forgot, or not attended to; and then some took them for *Euripides's*, exclusive of the Right of *Critias*; and others on the contrary: And as a Copist fancied *one* or *other* the Author, so he read the Text. Of this we have a remarkable Instance in the 35th Verse, where a Transcriber, imagining the Fragment to be the Tragic Poet's, chose to read,

“Οθεν τε λαμπρὸς ἀστὴρ σείχει μύδαρς.

Because this expresses the peculiar Physiology of *Anaxagoras*, the Preceptor of *Euripides*, which Mr. *Barnes* thought a convincing Proof of the Fragment's being really his: Whereas that Reading makes a Sense defective and impertinent; the *true* being evidently this of *Grotius*:

Λαμπρὸς ἀστέρων σείχει χορὸς.

And thus, I suppose, *Plutarch* and *Sextus* may be well reconciled.

“ cellent.

“cellent. This God, he told them, could hear and
 “see every Thing said and done by Mortals here
 “below: Nor could the first Conception of the most
 “secret Wickedness be concealed from him, of
 “whose Nature Knowledge was the very Essence.
 “Thus did our Politician, by inculcating these No-
 “tions, become the Author of a Doctrine wonder-
 “fully taking, while he hid Truth under the em-
 “broidered Veil of Fiction. But to add Terror to
 “their Reverence, the Gods, he said, inhabited that
 “Place, which he knew to be the Repository of all
 “those *Mormo's*, and panic Horrors, which Man
 “was so dextrous at imagining, to fright himself
 “withal, while he adds fancied Miseries to a Life al-
 “ready over-burthened with Disasters. That Place
 “I mean, where swift Coruscations of enkindled
 “Meteors, accompanied with horrid Bursts of
 “Thunder, run through the starry Vaults of Hea-
 “ven; the beautiful Fret-work of that wise old
 “Architect, *Time*. Where the consociated Troop
 “of shining Orbs perform their regular and be-
 “nignant Revolutions; and from whence refresh-
 “ing Showers descend to recreate the thirsty Earth.
 “Such was the Habitation he assigned for the
 “Gods; a Place most proper for the Discharge of
 “their Function: And these the Terrors he ap-
 “plied to circumvent secret Mischief; stifle Dis-
 “order in the Seeds; give his Laws fair play; and
 “introduce Religion, so necessary to the Magistrate.—
 “This, in my Opinion, was the Trick, whereby
 “mortal Man was first brought to believe that there
 “were immortal Natures.”

How excellent a Thing is Justice, said somebody
 or other, on observing it to be practised in the Dens
 of Robbers? How useful, how necessary a Thing is
Religion, may we say, when it forces this Confession
 of

of its Power, from its two most mortal Enemies, the Tyrant and the Atheist?

The Account here given of RELIGION is, that it was A STATE INVENTION: That is, *that the Idea of the Relation between the Creature and Creator was formed and contrived by Politicians to keep Men in Awe*^d: From whence the Infidel concludes it to be VISIONARY and GROUNDLESS.

I shall prove then in a very few Words, that the *Fact* or *Position* is *first*, IMPERTINENT, and *secondly*, FALSE. For,

I. Were it true, as it certainly is not, that *Religion was invented by Statesmen*, it would not there-

^d From the Magistrate's large Share in the Establishment of ancient national Religions two Consequences are drawn: The *one* by *Believers*, the *other* by *Infidels*. The *first* conclude that therefore these national Religions were of Political Original: And this the *ancient Fathers of the Church* spent much Time and Pains to prove. The *second* conclude, from the same Fact, that therefore Religion in general, or the Idea of the Relation between the Creature and the Creator, was a politic Invention, and not founded in the Nature of Things. And if in confuting *this*, I strengthen and support the other Conclusion, I suppose, that in so doing I give additional Strength to the Cause of *Revelation*, otherwise the *Fathers* were very much out. And tho' Infidels, indeed, in their Writings, affect to dwell upon this Conclusion, that *Superstition* was a State Invention; it is not, I presume, on account of any Service, that they imagine this can do their Cause, but because it enables them to strike obliquely, under that Cover, at *Religion* in general, when they do not care to appear quite unmasked. But if ever they should take it into their Heads to deny that there is any better Proof of *Superstition's* being a mere politic Invention than of *Religion* in general's being so, I have here answered them beforehand. On the whole then, if I prove that Religion in general was not a politic Invention, I enervate all the Force of the Atheist's Argument against *Revelation*, taken from the *Invention of Religion*. For that *Superstition* was of human Original both Parties seem to be agreed in: Tho' not *all* the Invention of Statesmen, as we shall see presently, where we shew that *one Species* of Idolatry was *in use* before the Institution of Civil Society.

fore

fore follow that *Religion was false*. A Consequence that has, I don't know how, been wrongly taken for granted on all Hands. It must be proved by one or other of these Mediums, or not at all.

1. Either *because Religion was not found out as a Truth, by the Use of Reason*.

2. Or, *because it was invented only for its Utility*.

3. Or lastly, *because the Inventors did not believe it*.

1. *As to its not being found out as a Truth by the Use of Reason*, we are to consider, that the finding out a Truth by Reason, necessarily implies the Exercise of that Faculty, in Proportion to the Importance and Difficulty of the Truth sought for: So that where Men do not use their Reason, Truths of the greatest Certainty and Use will remain unknown. Nor are we used to reckon it any Objection to many obvious and common Truths, in which Religion is not concerned, that divers Savage Nations in *Africa* and *America*, remain yet ignorant of them.

Now the Objection against Religion, is founded on this pretended Fact, that the Lawgiver taught the People Religion from the most early Times. And the Infidel System is, that Man from his first Appearance in the World, even to those early Times of his coming under the Hands of the Civil Magistrate, differed little from Brutes in the Use of his rational Faculties; and that the Improvement of them was gradual and slow: For which the Records of Antiquity are appealed to, concerning the late Invention of the Arts of Life. Thus, according to their own Account of Things, Religion was taught Mankind when the Generality had not begun to cultivate their rational Faculties; and, what is very remarkable, TAUGHT BY THOSE FEW THAT HAD.

It is true, our holy Religion gives a different Account of *these first Men*. But then it gives a more

different Account of the *Origin of Religion*. And let our Adversaries prevaricate as they will, they must take *both* or *neither*. For what only could make the first Men so enlightened as Scripture represents them, was *Revelation*; and, that allowed, the Dispute is at an End.

If it should be said, that, supposing Religion true, it is of such Importance to Mankind, that we may well believe God would not suffer us to remain in Ignorance. I allow it: But then we are not to prescribe to the Almighty his *Way* of doing it. It is sufficient to justify his Providence, that it is done; whether it be by *Revelation*; by the Exercise of *Reason*; or by the accidental Imposition of it, for oblique Ends, by the *Civil Magistrate*.

And why it might not possibly happen to this *Truth*, as it hath done to many others of great Importance, to be first hit upon by Chance, and mistaken for a mere *Utility*, and afterwards seen and demonstrated, I would beg leave to demand of these mighty Men of Reason.

2. *As to Religion's being invented only for its Utility*: This, though their palmary Argument, is the most unlucky that ever was employed: It proceeds on a supposed Inconsistency between Utility and Truth. For Men perceiving much of this Inconsistency between private partial Utility and Truth, were absurdly brought to think there might be the same between general Utility and some Truths. This it was that led the ancient Sages into so many Errors. For neither *Philosopher* nor *Lawgiver* apprehending that Truth and Utility coincide; the first, while he neglected Utility, missed (as we have seen) of the most momentous Truths: And the other, while little solicitous about Truth, missed in many Circumstances (as we shall see here-
after

after) of Utility. But general Utility and all Truth, necessarily coincide. For Truth is nothing but that Relation of Things, whose Observance is attended with universal Benefit. We may therefore as certainly conclude that *general Utility* is always founded on *Truth*, as that *Truth* is always productive of *general Utility*. Take then this Concession of the Atheist for granted, *that Religion is productive of public Good*, and the very contrary to his Inference, as we have seen above, must follow; namely, *that Religion is true*.

If it should be urged that Experience makes against this Reasoning; for that it was not *Religion*, but *Superstition*, that for the most Part procured this public Utility; and *Superstition* both Sides agree to be *erroneous*: To this we reply, that *Superstition* was so far from procuring any Good in the ancient World, where it was indeed more or less mixed with all the national Religions, that the Good which Religion procured, was allayed with Evil, in exact Proportion to the Quantity of *Superstition* found therein. And the less of *Superstition* there was in any national Religion, the happier, *cæteris paribus*, we always find that People; and the more there was of it, the unhappier. It could not be otherwise, for, if we examine the Case, it will appear, that all those Advantages that result from the *Worship of a superior Being*, are the Consequences only of the *true Principles of Religion*: And that the Mischiefs that result from thence, are the Consequence only of the *False*, or what we call *Superstition*. Only here we must observe, that *Superstition*, from our lax Use of the Word, may be understood in two Senses: Either as a *Thing adventitious*, that is apt fatally to mix itself with Religion; or as a *corrupt Species of Religion*. In the first Sense,

it is of no Use, but of infinite Mischief, and worse than Atheism itself. In the second Sense of a *corrupt Religion*, it is of *great Service* to Society; for by teaching a Providence, and the Dependence of Mankind upon it, it imposes a necessary Curb on Society that prevents its running into Confusion: And likewise of *great Mischief*; for by giving wrong Notions of the moral Attributes of God, it hinders the Progress of Virtue, or sets up a false Species of it. However, in the Sense of a *corrupt Religion*, it is infinitely preferable to Atheism. As in a sovereign Remedy, the Application of the *Drug*, tho' vitiated, is greatly to be preferred in desperate Disorders, to the doing nothing; though it may produce evil Habits in the Constitution it preserves, which the sound *Ingredient* would have prevented.

And here it is worth our Notice, that the Equivocation arising from this loose Use of the Word *Superstition*, was that which furnished Mr. Bayle with the Means of drawing out his Apology for Atheism^e, and eluding the Pursuit of his Adversaries, through so many voluminous Discourses. This Observation, which any one, on reading that famous Work, will find to be true, is sufficient to overthrow every Argument he useth for the Support of his great Principle, *That Atheism is less hurtful to Society than Superstition*.

3. As to the *Inventors not believing the Principle of Religion which they taught*: This comes with an ill Grace from an Atheist, who despises all Authority so much, as to oppose his own Singularities against the general Sense of Mankind, under Cover of an unquestioned Maxim, *That, in Matters of Speculation, Reason and not Authority should determine our Judg-*

^e *Pensées diverses écrites à un Docteur de Sorbonne à l'occasion de la Comete qui parut au mois de Decembre 1680. & Continuation des Pensées diverses, &c.*

ments. Was it true then, that the Inventors did not believe what they taught, this would be seen the poorest of all Arguments against its Truth.

But indeed the Supposition is without Foundation; and arises from gross Ignorance of the true Character of the ancient Lawgivers. The Idea our Adversaries have formed of these Civilizers of Mankind (as we are but too apt, in our Representations of others, to copy from our own Natures) is of a *Species of dry, cold headed Cheats*, whose Capacity all arose from the Predominancy of their Phlegm. But the Knowing in human Nature and Civil History, will tell you, that, amongst the Infirmities of Heroes, a Deficiency of Faith is not one. *Diodorus* was so sensible of this, that he makes it a Question, Whether the ancient Lawgivers, whom he there enumerates, did not *really believe* the divine Mission they pretended to? *They did this*, says he, *either because they really thought that the Conceptions which they had formed, so productive of publick good, must needs be altogether Supernatural and Divine;*^f — And I may venture to affirm, there never was a great Conqueror, or Founder of *Civil Policy*, or *Religion*, who carried on his Designs successfully by mere human Means, who was not naturally much inclined to *Enthusiasm*. Not that I suppose the Heat of *Enthusiasm* is not always tempered in Heroes with an equal Share of *Craft* and *Policy*. This extraordinary Mixture makes his true Character; a Character so much better conceived than expressed, that it has embarrassed the Pen even of a *Livy* to delineate^g.

^f Εἴτε θαυμαστὴν καὶ θεῖαν ὅλως ἔννοιαν εἶναι κείνωντας ἢ μέλλουσας ὠφελῆσαι ἀνθρώπων πλῆθος, εἴτε — l. i. p. 59. S. E.

^g Whose Picture of *Scipio Africanus*, is, however, so very curious, that the learned Reader will not be displeased to find it in this Place: — Quam ubi ab re tanto impetu acta sollicitudinem

But the Necessity of this Conjunction appears plainly from the Nature of the Thing. Why a *mere cold-beaded Contriver*, without any Tincture of natural Enthusiasm can never succeed, is because such a one can never furnish out those surprizing Appearances, which a heated Imagination, working on a *disordered*, though, for this Purpose, fitly framed Constitution, so speciously produces, as to be esteemed the Effects of supernatural Power by the Populace, who are necessarily to be taken in; and whose Spirits can be only captivated by raising their Admiration, and keeping up their Confidence. Besides, *new Notions*, or *new Manners* are never so readily received as when the Propagator is in earnest, and believes himself; for then there is something so natural in his Behaviour, as easily conciliates Opinions; something so alluring, that it looks like a kind of

curamque hominum animadvertit, advocata concione, ita de ætate sua imperioque mandato, & bello quod gerendum esset, magno elatoque animo disseruit, ut impleret homines certioris spei, quam quantam fides promissi humani, aut ratio ex fiducia rerum subicere solet. Fuit enim SCIPIO, non veris tantum virtutibus mirabilis, sed arte quoque quadam ab juvena in ostentationem earum compositus: pleraque apud multitudinem, aut per nocturnas visa species, aut velut divinitus, mente monita, agens: *sive ut ipse capti quadam superstitione animi, sive ut imperia consiliaque, velut sorte oraculi missa, sine cunctatione assequeretur.* Ad hæc jam inde ab initio præparans animos, ex quo togam virilem sumpsit, nullo die prius ullam publicam privatamque rem egit, quam in Capitolium iret, ingressusque ædem consideret, & plerumque tempus solus in secreto ibi tereret. Hic mos, qui per omnem vitam servabatur, *seu consulto, seu temere*, vulgatæ opinioni fidem apud quosdam fecit, stirpis eum divinæ virum esse, retulitque famam, in Alexandro Magno prius vulgatam, & vanitate & fabula parem, anguis immanis concubitu conceptum, & in cubiculo matris ejus persæpe visam prodigii ejus speciem, interventuque hominum evolutam repente, atque ex oculis elapsam. His miraculis numquam ab ipso elusa fides est; quin potius aucta arte quadam, nec abnuendi tale quicquam, nec palam affirmandi.

Hist. lib. 26.

natural

natural Fascination ; which made an ingenious *French* Writer not scruple to say : *Give me but half a dozen Men whom I can thoroughly persuade that it is not the Sun makes the Day, and I would not despair of seeing whole Nations brought over to the same Opinion*^h.

On the other hand, a *mere Enthusiast*, who by virtue of this Power, has gone so far in his Design, as to raise the Admiration, and captivate the Confidence of the People, must *here* fail for want of the other Quality. For his Enthusiasm not being under the Government of his Judgment, he will want the necessary Dexterity to apply the different Views, Tempers, and Constitutions of the People, now enflamed and ready to become his Instruments, to the Purpose he hath in view.

But when these two Talents of *Cunning* and *Enthusiasm* unite to furnish out a Hero, great will be the Success of his Projects. The Sallies of Enthusiasm will be so corrected by his Cunning, as to strengthen and confirm his supernatural Pretences ; and the cold and slow Advances of a too cautious Policy, will be warmed and pushed forward by the Force of his Fanaticism. His *Craft* will enable him to elude the Enquiries and Objections of the *more Rational* ; and his *Visions* will irrecoverably captivate all the *warmer Noddles*. In a word, they will mutually strengthen and inforce each others Power ; and cover and repair each others Defects. And indeed, there are so many powerful and opposite Interests to overcome and reconcile, so much Caprice and Humour to cajole, and artfully apply ; that it is not strange, no Man ever yet succeeded in any

^h Donnez moi une demi-douzaine de personnes, à qui je puisse persuader que ce n'est pas le Soleil qui fait le jour, je ne desesperai pas que des Nations entieres n'embrassent cette Opinion. *Fontanelle Hist. des Oracles, cap. 11.*

grand Design, where a whole People were the Instruments, that had not reconciled in himself, by a happy Union, these two, seeming, and generally speaking really, incompatible Qualities.

I could here shew by an historical Deduction from ancient and modern Times, that all those *Disturbers* or *Benefactors* of Mankind, who have succeeded in their Designs, did it by the joint Assistance of those two Qualities. And farther, that those, who are upon Record for having failed, were either *mere Enthusiasts*, who knew not how to push their Projects, when they had disposed the People to support them; or *mere Politicians*, who could never advance their wise Schemes so far, as to engage the People, by heating their Imaginations, to second them. But this, tho' greatly illustrating the Observation, would keep me too long from the Conclusion of the Volume, to which I am now hastening. I will only observe, that this high Enthusiasm was so conspicuous in the Character of ancient Heroism, and so powerful in making easy the most arduous Undertakings, that the learned *Varro* scruples not to say, *It is of great Advantage to Society, that Heroes should believe themselves the Offspring of the Gods, whether indeed so or not. That by this means, the Mind confiding in its divine Original, may rise above Humanity; so as more sublimely to project, more daringly to execute, and more happily to establish the grand Schemes it labours with, for the Service of Mankind*ⁱ.

Hence it appears, that if Religion were a Cheat,

ⁱ Utile est civitatibus, ut se viri fortes, etiamsi falsum sit, ex Diis genitos esse credant, ut eo modo animus humanus, velut divinæ stirpis fiduciam gerens, res magnas aggrediendas præsumat audacius, agat vehementius, & ob hoc impleat ipsa securitate felicius. *Apud Aug. Civ. Dei, l. iii. c. 4.*

the *Legislators* themselves were among the first that fell into the Deceit.

On the whole then we see, that of all these *Mediums* whereby our Adversaries would infer, that Religion is false, because invented by Statesmen, the third, which is most to their Purpose, *proves nothing*. While, of the other two, the first is a *high Presumption*, and the second a *Demonstration of its Truth*.

I have said, that it was, I don't know how, taken for granted on all hands, *that the Invention of Religion by Politicians inferred its Falshood*. But on second Thoughts I am persuaded the too great Facility in this Concession arose from hence. The popular Argument of the *innate Idea of God*, had been for Ages esteemed the fundamental Proof of his Being and Attributes: And the *political Origin of Religion* overthrowing *that Argument*, it was too hastily concluded that it overthrew the *Truth of Religion in general*; for Prejudice had established this Consequence, *If no innate Idea of God, no God at all*.

II. But now, tho' as we have shewn, the granting this Infidel Pretence, doth not at all affect the Truth of *natural Religion*; yet it doth by Accident, and by Accident only, affect the Truth of *Revelation*: Because Holy Scripture hath given us a different Account of the Origin of Divine Worship.

I shall shew therefore in the next Place, that the *Notion* is as *false* and *visionary*, as it hath been proved to be *impertinent*. *First*, by overturning the Grounds on which it is built; and *secondly*, by producing plain Matter of Fact to the contrary.

I. The first of these Grounds is, *that the Lawgiver employed his utmost Pains and Labour in teaching, propagating, and establishing Religion*. But what can be concluded from hence more than this, that he
did

did it from the clearest Conviction of its Utility? And how should he gain that Conviction, but from his having observed the Effects of its Influence on the Actions of Men? Which must needs suppose him to have *found*, and not to have *invented* it.

If this Argument hath any Weight, we must conclude the Magistrate was not only the Inventor of *natural Religion*, but of *natural Justice* likewise; for he took at least as much Pains in teaching, propagating, and establishing *that*. But will any one be so mad as to say, that Men in a State of Nature had no Ideas of *Justice*? Indeed both one and the other had lost much of their Efficacy, when Men applied to the Civil Magistrate for Redress: And this explains the Reason why, on their entering into Society, the Legislator was always so intent upon *Religion*; namely, that he might recover it from the powerless Condition, to which it was then reduced.

It will be said, perhaps, that the Atheist does in fact contend that *natural Justice* was an Invention of Politicians as well as *Religion*. We have seen indeed, a Countryman of our own, who hath made it the Foundation of his Philosophy, that *Just* and *Unjust* arose from the Civil Magistrate. But then, he never supposed, that Men, before Society, had no Idea of these Things; all that he would contend for was, that their Idea was a false one.

2. The other, and *peculiar Ground*, our Adversaries go upon, is, *that the first and original Idolatry was the Worship of dead Men*: And those being certainly Lawgivers, Magistrates, and public Benefactors, it shews Religion to have been a political Institution. So amongst the Ancients, *Eubemerus*, surnamed *the Atheist*, wrote a Treatise to prove *the first Greek Gods were Men*; which *Tully*, who saw
his

his Drift, rightly observed, tended to overturn all Religion^k. And so, amongst the Moderns, Toland, the pious Author of the *Pantheisticon*, wrote a Pamphlet with the very same Design, intitled, *Of the Origin of Idolatry, and Reasons of Heathenism*. It is not unpleasant to observe the uniform Conduct of this noble Pair of Writers, which one never fails to find in Authors of a like Character, how distant soever in Time. *Eubemerus* pretended his Design was only to expose the popular Religion of Greece; and Toland, that *his* was only pointed against Pagan Idolatry; while the real End of both was, the Destruction of Religion in general.

It must be owned, that this Ground of *the first and original Idolatry* has a face of Plausibility; but then it has only *that*, being manifestly founded on this Sophism, that the *first Idolatry*, and the *first Religious Worship*, are one and the same thing; whereas, it is not only possible that the *Worship of the first Cause* of all Things was prior to any *Idol Worship*, but in the *highest Degree probable*; *Idol Worship* having none of the Appearances of an original Custom, and all the Circumstances attending a depraved and corrupted Institution.

But it being utterly false that the *Worship of dead Men* was the *primitive Idolatry*, we shall endeavour to convince these Men of a Fact they are so unwilling to see or acknowledge.

I was pleased to find a Book, like this of Toland's, wrote professedly on the Point; being in hopes to meet with something like Argument or Learning that would countenance an Enquiry; because the examining any particular Author of this Class arrests the Attention of common Readers,

^k Nat. Deor. l. i. c. 42.

better than general Reasoning, which goes more directly to the Fact, and determines the Question with more Precision. But I had the Mortification to meet with nothing there but a senseless Heap of Common-place Quotations from the Ancients, and a more senseless one of Common-place Reflexions from modern Infidels; without the least Seasoning of Critic or Logic, to make it supportable. And the Authority of the Man, which is nothing, could not engage me to any farther Notice of his Book. But another, whose Name stands justly highest in the learned World, and whose Heart was as unlike this Writer's as his Head, seems to be of the same Opinion concerning the primitive Idolatry. It is the incomparable Sir *Isaac Newton* in his *Chronology of the Greeks*. His Words are these: "*Æacus* the Son of *Ægina*, who was two Generations older than the *Trojan War*, is by some reputed one of the first who built a Temple in *Greece*. Oracles came first from *Egypt* into *Greece* about the same Time, as also did the Custom of forming the Images of the Gods, with their Legs bound up in the Shape of the Egyptian Mummies: FOR IDOLATRY began in *Chaldæa* and *Egypt*, and spread thence, &c. — The Countries upon the *Tigris*, and the *Nile* being exceeding fertile, were first frequented by Mankind, and grew first into Kingdoms, and therefore began first to adore their dead Kings and Queens¹." This great Man, we see, takes it for granted, that the *Worship of dead Men* was the first kind of Idolatry. And so only insinuates a Reason; namely, that the *Worship of dead Men* introduced Image Worship. For, the Egyptians first worshipped dead Men in Person, that is, their

¹ *Chron. of ancient Kingdoms*, p. 160.

Mummies^m; which when lost, consumed, or destroyed, were worshipped by *Representation*, under an Image made *with its Legs bound up*, in likeness of the *Mummies*. The Reader now will be curious to know how *this* infers the *other*. All I can say to it is, that the excellent Author seems to have put the Change upon himself, in supposing *Image Worship* inseparably attendant on Idolatry in *general*; when it was but generally so, on the *Species* in question; for *Herodotus*, as we have seen beforeⁿ, tells us that the *Persians*, who worshipped *the celestial Bodies*, had no *Statues of their Gods*: Nor was *Image Worship*, as we say, *always* attendant on the other kind of Idolatry; for we learn from *Dionysius Halicarnassens*, that the *Romans*, whose Gods were *dead Men deified*, worshipped them for some Ages without Statues.

But to come closer to the Point: Our Adversaries overthrow their Position, on the very Entrance on the Question. The grand Symbol of the atheistic School is, that FEAR FIRST MADE GODS:

Primus in orbe Deos fecit timor.

And yet, if we will believe them, these first Gods were *dead Men*, deified for their *public Benefits* to their Country, or Mankind: *Not only* (says Toland) *Kings and Queens, great Generals and Legislators, the Patrons of Learning, Promoters of curious Arts, and Authors of useful Inventions partook of this Honour; but also such private Persons, as by their virtuous Actions had distinguished themselves from others*^o. But to pass this over; their great Principle of FEAR is every way destructive of their System: For those

^m See Vol. II. Plate V. Fig. 1, 2, and 3 compared together.

ⁿ See p. 95. Note (p).

^o *Letters to Serena, Tract Of the Origin of Idolatry*, p. 73.

very Ages of the World, in which *Fear* most prevailed, and was the predominant Passion of Mankind, were the Times before Civil Society; when every Man's Hand was against his Brother. If *Fear* then *was the Origin of Religion*, Religion, without question, was before Civil Society.

But neither to insist upon this: Let us hear what the ancient *Theists* thought of the Matter. They said it was *Love*, and not *Fear*, which was the Origin of Religion. Thus *Seneca*: *Nec in hunc furorem omnes mortales consensissent alloquendi surda numina & inefficaces Deos; nisi nossent illorum beneficia nunc ultro oblata, nunc orantibus data; magna, tempestiva, ingentes minas interventu suo solventia. Quis est autem tam miser, tam neglectus, quis tam duro fato, & in pœnam genitus, ut non tantam deorum munificentiam senserit? Ipsos illos complorantes sortem suam, & querulos circumspice, invenies non ex toto beneficiorum cœlestium expertes; neminem esse, ad quem non aliquid ex illo benignissimo fonte manaverit* ^p.

But as *Hope* and *Fear*, *Love* and *Hatred*, are the grand Hinges, on which all human Actions and Cogitations turn, I suppose it was neither one nor other of these Passions alone, but both of them together, that opened to those early Mortals (whose uncultivated Reason had not yet gained the *Knowledge*, or whose degenerate Manners had now lost the *Tradition* of the true God) the first Idea of superior Beings.

Such Men in a State of Nature, whose Subsistence was *immediately* to be supplied by the Product of the Earth, would be exact Observers of what facilitated or retarded those Supplies: So that of

Course, the grand genial Power of the System, that visible God the SUN, would be soon regarded by them as a most beneficent Deity : And *Thunder* and *Lightning*, *Storms* and *Tempests*, which his Nature produced, would be considered as the Effects of his Anger. The rest of the celestial Orbs would, in Proportion to their Use and Appearance, be regarded in the same light. This is a very *natural* Account of the Original of Idolatry^a. That it is the *true*, we shall now shew.

I. Those ancient People of the North and South, the *Suevi*, *Arabs*, and *Africans*, who lived long uncivilized, and in Tribes, were all Worshippers of the celestial Bodies. The same appears to have

^a A Passage in *Sanchoniatho's Phœnician History*, quoted by *Eusebius* in his *Præp. Evang.* l. i. shews it to be so. He tells us, the Historian recorded, " That the two first Mortals, *Protegonus* " and *Æon*, begat *Genus* and *Genea* ; who in the Time of great " *Droughts* stretched out their Hands to Heaven, towards the " *Sun*, which, in their Opinion, was the only Lord of Heaven. — ΑΥΧΜΩΝ ὁ ἡνωμένων, τὰς χεῖρας ὀρέγειν εἰς ἑρανὸς πρὸς τὸ ΗΛΙΟΝ. Τῷτον γὰρ, φησὶ, ΘΕΟΝ ἐνόμιζον μόνον ἑρῶν κύριον, p. 22. " From *Genus* and *Genea*, he tells us, came *Ufous*, who " when violent Tempests of Winds and Rain made the Boughs " of Trees rub against one another and take Fire, and burn up " the Forest, consecrated two Pillars to *Fire* and *Wind*, and " bowed down and worshipped them, and poured out to them " the Blood of such wild Beasts as he had taken in hunting." Παγδαίων ὁ ἡνωμένων ὁμοῦ καὶ πινύματων, ὡρατερίβηλα τὰ ἐν τῇ τύρῳ δένδρα πῦρ ἀνάψαι, καὶ τὸ αὐτόθι ὕλην καὶ ἀφλέσαι. — ἀνε- ρῶσαι ὁ δύο σήλας πνεῖ τε καὶ πινύματι, καὶ πρὸς κωῦσαι, ἅμα τε σπένδειν αὐταῖς ἐξ ὧν ἠγρῶσε θηρίων. By this the very ancient Historian plainly insinuates, that the Worship of the two first Mortals was not idolatrous, and that the first Idolatry was the Worship of Heavenly Bodies.

The *Arabs* (says a learned Writer, who speaks after their own Authors) from the Rising and Setting of the Stars, by long Experience observed what Changes happened in the Air, and at length, as hath been said, came to ascribe Divine Power to them, &c. See *Sale's Prel. Disc.* to his Translation of the *Koran*.

been

been the Case of the *Chinese*, and those of *Mexico* and *Peru*, from what we observed before, of their first Lawgivers pretending to be the Offspring of the *Sun* and *Heaven*. For we may be assured they had the Sense to chuse a well established Authority, to set up under.

2. But all Antiquity concurs in asserting that *the first religious Adoration, paid to the Creature, was the Worship of Heavenly Bodies*. This was so evident a Truth, and so universally acknowledged, that *Critias* himself, as we see, was forced to allow it. And it being the entire Overthrow of his System of the Origin of Religion, nothing but the fullest Evidence could have extorted that Confession from him.

To support so manifest a Point with a long heap of Quotations, would be trifling with the Reader's Patience. But as *Greece* and *Egypt*, the two Countries where Civil Policy took deepest Root, and spread its largest Influence, had, by long Custom of deifying their public Benefactors, so erased the Memory of a prior Idolatry, as to have that by some Moderns deemed the first; I shall produce an ancient Testimony or two of the highest Credit, to shew that the Adoration of the celestial Bodies was the first Idol Worship *there*, as well as in other Places.

1. IT APPEARS TO ME (says *Plato* in his *Cratylus*) THAT THE FIRST MEN WHO INHABITED *GREECE*, HELD THOSE ONLY TO BE GODS, WHICH MANY BARBARIANS AT PRESENT WORSHIP; NAMELY, THE SUN, MOON, EARTH, STARS, AND HEAVEN^r. The *Barbarians* here

^r Φαίνονται μοι οἱ πρῶτοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων οὗτοι ἢ Ἐλλάδα τέτυκται μό-
νες θεοὶ ἡγεῖσθαι, ὥσπερ νῦν πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων, Ἡλίον, καὶ Σελή-
νην, καὶ Γῆν, καὶ Ἄστρα, καὶ Οὐρανόν.

hinted

hinted at, were both those *in*, and *out* of Civil Society.

As first, the civilized *Persians*, of whom *Herodotus* gives this Account: *They worship the Sun, Moon, and Earth, Fire, Water, and the Winds: And this Adoration they have all along paid from the very Beginning. Afterwards, indeed, they learned to worship Urania*^s. &c. And so goes on to speak of their later Idolatry of dead Mortals.

Secondly, the Savage *Africans*, of whom the same *Herodotus* says, *They worship only the Sun and Moon, the same do all the Africans*^t.

2. *Diodorus Siculus*, speaking of the *Egyptians*, tells us, THAT THE FIRST MEN LOOKING UP TO THE WORLD ABOVE THEM, AND TERRIFIED AND STRUCK WITH ADMIRATION AT THE NATURE OF THE UNIVERSE, SUPPOSED THE SUN AND MOON TO BE THE PRINCIPAL AND ETERNAL GODS^v.

The Reason the Historian assigns, makes his Assertion general; and shews he believed this Idolatry to be the *first* every where else, as well as in *Egypt*. That it was so *there*, we have likewise good internal Evidence, from a Circumstance in their Hieroglyphics, the most ancient Method of recording Knowledge, where, as we are told by *Horus Apollo*, a Star denoted or expressed the Idea of the Deity^w.

^s Θύοσι δ' Ἡλίῳ τε καὶ Σελήνῃ, καὶ Γῇ, καὶ Πυρὶ, καὶ Ὑδατὶ, καὶ Ἀνέμοισι· τέτοισι μὲν δὴ μένοισι θύοσι ἀρχήθεν· ἐπεμεμαθήκασι δ' καὶ τῇ Οὐρανίῃ θύειν. — l. i. c. 131.

^t Θύοσι δ' Ἡλίῳ καὶ Σελήνῃ μένοισι· τέτοισι μὲν νῦν πάντες Λίβυες θύοσι. l. iv. c. 188.

^v Τὰς ἀνθρώπους τὸ παλαιὸν θύομεν ἀνὰ βλάβαν εἰς τὸ κόσμον, καὶ τὸ ὅλων φύσιν, καταπλαγύτας καὶ θαυμάσαντας, ὑπελαβόντες δὲ θεὸς αἰδίας τε καὶ πρῶτες, τὸν τε Ἥλιον καὶ Σελήνην. — l. i.

^w Ἀγὴρ παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις γραφόμενον Θεὸν σημαίνει. l. ii. c. 1:

What hath much embarrassed the Learned on this Question is, the not duly attending to the *Degrees* and *Manner* by which those early People superinduced the Worship of *dead Men* on the primary idolatrous Worship of the heavenly Bodies; which I shall now endeavour to explain: 1. The first Step to the *Apotheosis* was the complimenting their Heroes and public Benefactors, with the Name of that Being, which was most esteemed and revered^x. Thus a King, for his Beneficence, was called the *Sun*; and a Queen, for her Beauty, the *Moon*. It is remarkable that this way of Adulation still continues in use amongst the Eastern People; though in a lower Degree, it being now rather a *Civil* than a *Religious* Compliment. But lest the Reader should suspect I talk without Book, I shall confirm what I say by no less an Authority than that of *Diodorus*, who tells us, that SOL FIRST REIGNED IN EGYPT; CALLED SO FROM THE LUMINARY OF THAT NAME IN THE HEAVENS^y. This will help us to understand an odd Passage in the Fragment of *Sanchoniatho*, where it is said that *Cronus had seven Sons by Rhea, the youngest of which was made a God of, as soon as born^z*. The Meaning, I suppose, is, that this youngest Son was called after some *Luminary* in the Heavens, to which they paid divine Honours, which Honours, by this means, came to be transferred to its Name-fake.

As this Adulation advanced into an established Worship, they turned the Compliment the o-

^x See P. 281. Note (*).

^y Πρῶτον μὲν Ἡλίον βασιλεῦσαι τὸ κατ' Αἴγυπτον, ὁμῶνυμον ὄντα τῷ κατ' Ἑβραίων ἄστρι. 1. i. The Practice of *Affyrian* Superstition was the same; their King *Belus* being named from *Baal* the Sun.

^z — τῷ αὐτῷ [Κρόνῳ] γίνοντι δὲ τὸ Πέας παῖδες ἐπ' αὐτῷ ὃν ὁ νεώτατος αἶμα τῇ γυνέσει ἀφιερῶθη.

ther way ; and now the Planet or Luminary was called after the Hero ; I suppose, the better to accustom the People, even when in the Practice of *Planet Worship*, to this new Adoration. *Diodorus*, in the Passage quoted a little before, having told us that the *Sun* and *Moon* were the first Gods of *Egypt*, adds, THE FIRST OF WHICH THEY CALLED OSIRIS, AND THE OTHER ISIS^a. *Philo Byblius* in *Eusebius* explains this: “ It is remarkable (says he) “ that they [the ancient Idolaters] imposed on the “ Elements, and on those Parts of Nature which “ they esteemed Gods, the Names of their Kings: “ For the natural Gods, which they acknowledged, “ were only the Sun, Moon, Planets, Elements, “ and the like ; they being for Gods of both Clases, the mortal and the immortal^b. ”

The Reader now sees, that by this *unbeeded*, but very natural way of superinducing the one Idolatry upon the *other*, the two Species were entirely confounded. How long they continued so, and what Obscurity the endeavouring to clear up Matters, by supposing the one Idolatry to be only SYMBOLICAL of the other, hath thrown upon this Part of Antiquity, may be fully seen by G. J. *Vossius*’s very learned Collection of *The Gentile Theology*. To explain this Matter at large would require a Volume: It is sufficient that we have given this Hint, which, if pursued, would open to us a clearer and more certain View of Things. But of all

^a — Ὑπολαβεῖν τῇ θεῷ αἰδίῳ τε καὶ πρώτῳ, τὸν τε ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην, ὧν τὸ μὲν Ὅσιον, τὸ δὲ Ἰσιν ὀνομάσαι. l. i.

^b Εξαιρέτως δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν σφετέρων βασιλέων, τοῖς κοσμικοῖς στοιχείοις, καὶ τισὶ τῶν νομιζομένων θεῶν τὰς ὀνομασίας ἐπέθεσαν, φυσικὰς δὲ, ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην, καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς πλανήτας ἀστέρας, καὶ τὰ στοιχεία, καὶ τὰ τέτοις συναφῇ θεῷ μόνον ἐγίνωσκον. ὥς αὐτοῖς τὰς μὲν θνητὰς, τὰς δὲ ἀθανάτας θεὰς εἶναι. *Præp. Evang.* l. i. c. 9.

the Obscurities of Writers on this Question, nothing, I think, equals the profound Nonsense of our *Pantheistic Hero*: *The first Idolatry* (says he) *therefore did not proceed (as is commonly supposed) from the Beauty, or Order, or Influence of the Stars: But Men observing Books to perish [before there were any] by Fire, Worms, or Rottenness; and Iron, Brass, and Marble not less subject to violent Hands, or the Injuries of the Weather, they imposed on the Stars (as the only everlasting Monuments) the proper Names of their Heroes, or of something memorable in their History*^c. Something the Man would say, but what — I leave to his Followers to explain, and return to my Subject.

Thus, in shewing the Worship of *heavenly Bodies* to be prior to that of *dead Men*, we have not only overthrown *this Argument*, for the Proof of the *atheistic Notion of the Origin of Religion*, but likewise the *Notion itself*. For if (as our Adversaries own) the Worship of dead Men was the first religious Institution after entering into Civil Society; and if (as we have proved) the Worship of the heavenly Bodies preceded that of dead Men; the Consequence is, that Religion was in use before the Civil Magistrate was in Being. But we need not our Adversaries Concession for this Consequence; having proved from ancient Testimony, that *planetary Worship* was the only Idolatry long before Civil Society was known; and continued to be so, by all unpolicied Nations, long after.

Secondly, We come in the next Place to direct Fact: from whence it appears, *that the Lawgiver, or Civil Magistrate, did not invent Religion*.

Here the Atheist's gross Prevarication ought not

^c *The Origin of Idolatry, and Reasons of Heathenism*, p. 74.

to pass uncensured. — From the Notoriety of the Magistrate's Care of *Religion*, he would conclude it to be *his Invention*. And yet, that very Antiquity which tells him *this*, as plainly and fully tells him this *other*; namely, *that Religion was not invented by him*: For look through all *Greek, Roman, or Barbarous* Antiquity; or look back on what we have extracted from thence in the second Section of the foregoing Book, and it will appear, that not one single Lawgiver ever found a People, how barbarous soever, without a Religion, when he undertook to civilize them. On the contrary, we see them all, even to the Lawgivers of the *Thracians* and *Americans*, addressing themselves to the Savage Tribes, with the Credentials of that God who was there publicly acknowledged and adored. But the Truth of this will be farther seen from hence: It appears from the History of the Lawgivers, from the Sayings recorded of them, and from the Fragments of their Writings yet remaining, that they perceived the *Error* and *Mischief* of the gross Idolatries practised by those People, whom they reduced into Society; and yet, they never set upon reforming them: From which we reasonably conclude, that they found the People in Possession of a Religion that they could not unsettle; and so were forced to comply with old inveterate Prejudices. All they could do, when they could not purify the *Soul of Religion*, was more firmly to constitute the *Body* of it. And this they did by national Rites and Ceremonies. Indeed, in course of time, though insensibly, the Genius of the Religion, as we observed above, followed that of the Civil Policy; and so grew better and purer, as it did in *Rome*; or more corrupt and abominable, as it did in *Syria*. But had the Legislators
given

given an entire new Religion, as they gave Laws, we should have found some of those, at least, early approaching to the Purity of natural Religion. But as we see no such, we must conclude they *found* Religion, and did not *make it*.

On the whole then I have proved, what the judicious *Hooker* was not ashamed to own before me, that “ A politique Use of Religion there is. Men
 “ fearing God are thereby a great deal more effe-
 “ ctually than by positive Laws restrayned from do-
 “ ing Evil, inasmuch as those Laws have no fur-
 “ ther Power than over our outward Actions only,
 “ whereas unto Mens inward Cogitations, unto the
 “ privie Intents and Motions of their Hearts, Re-
 “ ligion serveth for a Bridle. What more savage,
 “ wilde, and cruell than Man, if he see himselfe
 “ able, either by Fraude to over-reach, or by Power
 “ to overbeare, the Laws whereunto he should be
 “ subject? Wherefore in so great Boldness to of-
 “ fend, it behoveth that the World should be held
 “ in Awe, not by a vaine Surmise, but a true Ap-
 “ prehension of somewhat, which no Man may
 “ think himselfe able to withstand. This is the
 “ Politique Use of Religion^d. ” Thus far this
 Great Man; where he takes notice how certain A-
 theists of his Time, by observing this use of Reli-
 gion to Society, were fortified in their Folly, in
 thinking Religion was invented by Politicians to
 keep Men in Awe. An Absurdity, I perswade my-
 self, now so thoroughly exposed, as to be hence-
 forth thought fit only to go in Rank with the Tales
 of Nurfses, and the Dreams of Free-thinkers.

^d *Eccl. Pol.* Book V. Sect. 2.

WE HAVE now at length gone through our two first Propositions :

1. THAT THE INCULCATING THE DOCTRINE OF A FUTURE STATE OF REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, IS NECESSARY TO THE WELL-BEING OF CIVIL SOCIETY.

2. THAT ALL MANKIND, ESPECIALLY THE MOST WISE AND LEARNED NATIONS OF ANTIQUITY, HAVE CONCURRED IN BELIEVING, AND TEACHING, THAT THIS DOCTRINE WAS OF SUCH USE TO CIVIL SOCIETY.

Our next Volume begins with the Proof of the third ; namely,

3. THAT THE DOCTRINE OF A FUTURE STATE OF REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, IS NOT TO BE FOUND IN, NOR DID MAKE PART OF THE MOSAIC DISPENSATION.

Hitherto we have been forced to move slowly, to grope our way in the Dark, through the thick Confusion of many irrational Religions, and mad Schemes of Philosophy, independent of, and inconsistent with one another ; where the Labour of the Search, I am afraid, has been much greater to the Author, than the Pleasure will be to the Reader, in finding this Chaos reduced to some kind of Order ; the *Principles* discovered, from whence the endless Diversity and Contradiction have arose ; and the various Use that may be made of all this, for the Service of our Holy Religion.

We now emerge into open Day :

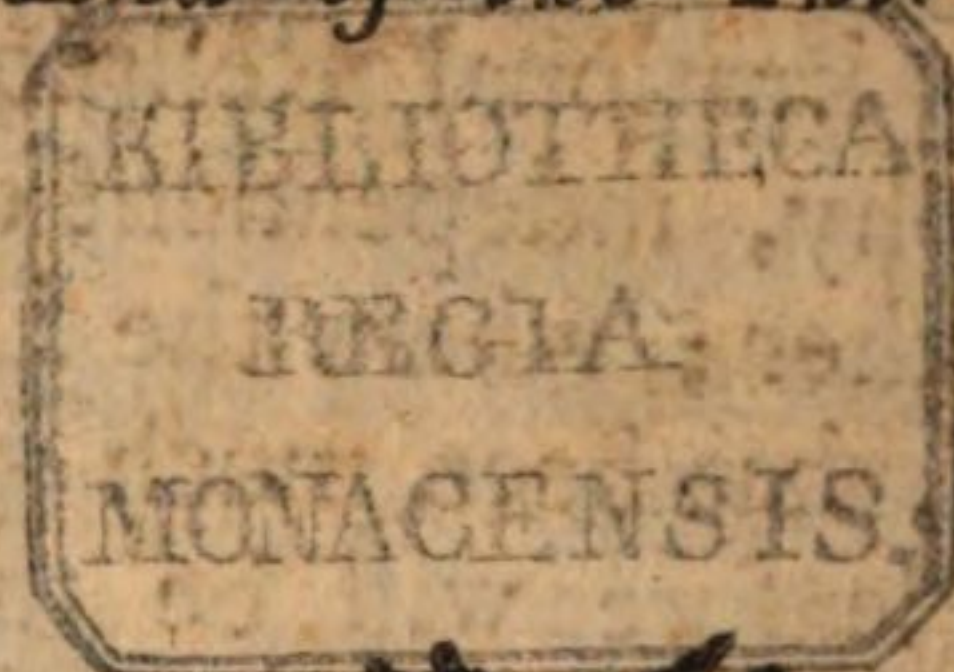
“ Major rerum mihi nascitur ordo,
“ Majus opus moveo.

And

And having got the *Promised Land* in View, our Labour will be much easier, as the Discoveries will be more important, and the Subject infinitely more interesting: For having now only one single System and Dispensation to explain, consistent in all its Parts, and absolute and perfect in the Whole, which though, by Reason of the profound and sublime Views of its Author, it may have long remained unpenetrated, yet, if we have but the Happiness to enter rightly, we shall go on with Ease, and the Prospect will gradually open and enlarge itself; till we see it lost again in that *Immensify* from whence it first arose.

Full of these Hopes, and under the Auspices of these Encouragements, let us now shift the Scene from GENTILE to JEWISH Antiquity; and prepare ourselves for the Opening of a more august and solemn Theatre.

The End of the Third Book.



THE HISTORY OF THE
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FROM THE FIRST SETTLEMENT
TO THE PRESENT TIME
BY
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OF THE BARRISTER AT LAW
IN THE SUPREME COURT OF JUDICATURE
IN THE COUNTY OF MIDDLESEX
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